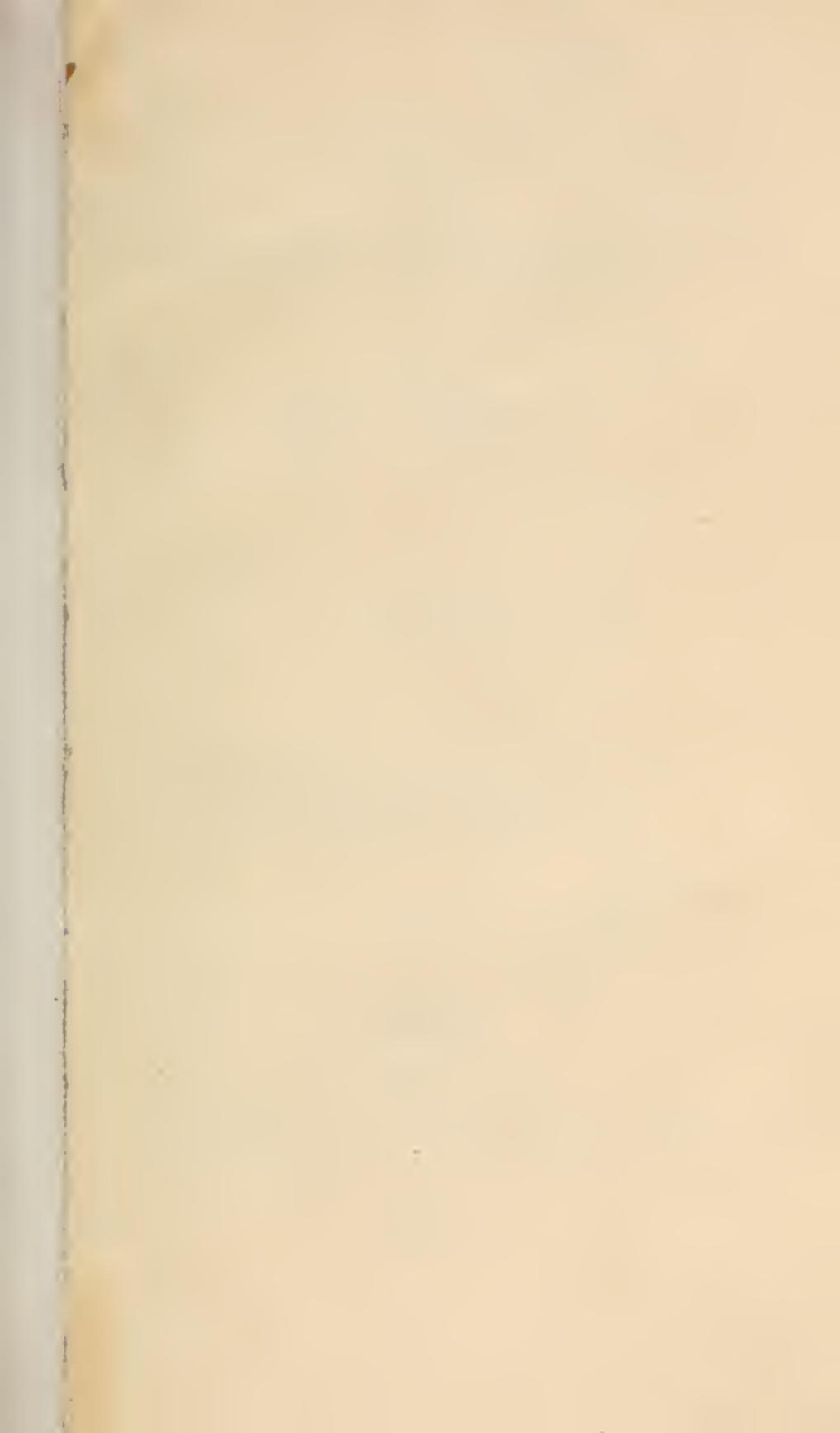


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B

THE  
STATE OF SOCIETY  
IN THE  
Age of Homer.

BY WILLIAM BRUCE, D. D.

Τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ ὅπει δε Χίψ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσση.

Τὸν πέρι Μουσὸν ἐφίλησε, δίδου δὲ ἀγαθὸν τε, κακὸντες.

Ορθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δὲ ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδὴν.

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30 .

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*T. Mairs, Printer, Joy's-Court, Belfast.*

TO  
ROBERT PERCEVAL, M. D.  
      *&c. &c. &c.*  
AS A TESTIMONY OF RESPECT  
      FOR THE  
**Learning & Piety**  
      OF THAT  
EMINENT PHYSICIAN,  
      THIS TREATISE IS INSCRIBED,  
      BY HIS  
FAITHFUL FRIEND,  
      *The Author.*

## ERRATA.

---

THE reader is requested to pardon literal errors, and to correct the following, which affect the sense.

*Page* 7. *Line 10.* Lower Margin: for *senectale* read *senectute*.  
.... 21. .... 11. For *Melesigines* read *Melesigenes*.  
.... 37. .... 3 from the bottom, for *order* read *ardour*.  
.... 43. .... 15. For *Syros* read *Seyros*.—p. 44, do.  
.... 54. .... 9. For *Eubræa* read *Eubæa*.  
.... 57. .... 13. For *Aradas* read *Aradus*.  
.... 60. .... 11. For *stores* read *stories*.  
.... 72. .... 11. For *hoatu magni* read *hiatu magno*.  
.... 79. .... Last line: read  $\chi\varepsilon\lambda\eta\tau\omega\eta$ .  
.... 84. .... 7. Omit these words, which in his time was  
earlier than now.  
.... *ib.* .... 16. Read: *praise a large ship, but freight a*  
*small one.*  
.... 87. .... 11. The words, *supposing the workmanship to*  
*be equal* should follow *eleven to one*, 1. 14.  
.... 111. .... 7 from the bottom, for *ready* read *already*.  
.... 120. .... 2. For *Tieyon* read *Sicyon*.  
.... 140. .... 17. For *we* read *he*.  
.... 142. .... Last line: for  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omega\gamma\iota\sigma$  read  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omega\nu\iota\sigma$ .  
.... 171. .... 14. Read *remain in Phœacia*.  
.... 191. .... 5. For *instruments* read *instrument*.  
.... 197. .... 3. For *wool* read *woof*.  
.... 198. .... 1. For *web* read *pattern*.

## PREFACE.

---

THE Author of this small Volume begs leave to bespeak the indulgence of the reader for any errors of the pen or the press, that he may discover. This favour he solicits, not from consciousness of haste or negligence; for the Work has been longer detained, *intra penetralia vestæ*, than required by Horace, and been frequently, and carefully revised; but from the vast number of minute particulars, of which it is composed, and the corresponding quotations and references, by which they are authenticated. These he has thrown into the lower margin, that they may occasion no interruption to the pleasure, which, he hopes, the reader will find in contemplating the learning and government, arts and manners, of the heroic times in Greece and Asia.

At the same time, he flatters himself with the hope, that an account of the earliest period of classical antiquity, verified by these authorities, will also be acceptable to the student and the man of letters, as a substitute for a more systematic *Archæologia Homerica*; which, as far as he knows, is still a *desideratum* in literature, notwithstanding the *Antiquitates Homericae* of Feithius, which he suspects to be little known, and knows to be defective.

Indocti discant, & ament meminisse periti.  
Plura reeognoscet: pauca docendus erit.

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THE  
AGE OF HOMER.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this Essay is to give a connected view of the state of science, arts and manners in Greece and Asia Minor, as delineated in the works of Homer and Hesiod, with some remarks on the writings and genius of Homer. A faithful and minute account of the learning, institutions and domestic customs of each remarkable period in the history of man, is still a desideratum in literature. Books of antiquities either make slight mention of the sciences, and the ornamental and useful arts, or omit them altogether; and they mingle the civil and military affairs of different ages, without either marking the peculiarities of each particular era, or tracing the progress of manners and civilization from one period to another. Such works are, in general, intended for books of reference, in which the student

may find an explanation of such particulars as occur in ancient authors, and they are well adapted to this purpose; but it would be also desirable to see a delineation of some distinguished periods singly, pointing out the advances, which the human mind had made in science and philosophy, politics and war, the fine and useful arts, agriculture and mechanics, the labour of the loom, and domestic economy. These particulars are to be found in such abundance in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, that I question, whether we have as minute an account of the manners of any people in modern times; but they are so briefly and casually mentioned, and so widely scattered through their works, that considerable industry is necessary to collect and arrange them.

To relieve such a work from the formality of an *Archæologia*, it might be thrown into a biographical form. Some hero might be selected, in the narrative of whose life all the manners of his age might be introduced: but far be from me the presumption to tread in the steps of Xenophon, Fenelon, and Barthelemi. Even one, who had more confidence in his own genius, might be deterred by the common fate of imitators; who, though they may excel their originals, are held in little estimation; and if they fail, sink immediately into contempt and oblivion: besides, that in such works of fancy, the truth of history must be frequently warped, or sacrificed to the beauty and interest of the piece. The heroic ages

also, are too destitute of incidents to furnish materials for such a composition: but if any one feels an ambition to rival the fame of the *Cyropaedia*, *Telemachus*, or *Anacharsis*, there is still wanting an animated representation of Roman manners; and as a stock, on which it may be grafted, he may select the life of Horace. This would embrace all the illustrious poets and historians, orators and philosophers, statesmen and warriors of the Augustan age. From his own works might be gleaned an account of his father and his Venusian farm; his education at Rome, and studies at Athens; his military service under Brutus, and his promotion at the court of Augustus; the names and personal qualities of all his intimate friends; his excursions to Brundusium, and his country seats; the situation of his farm, his domestic economy, and his amusements in town and country; the peculiarities of his own temper, and of his associates; with his amours and amorous quarrels. With the aid of ancient authors, the remains of antiquity, and particularly the subterraneous treasures of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the author might furnish a description of the manners of the Romans, in the age of Augustus, that might rival, in minuteness, that which I hope to give of the times of Homer and Hesiod. Despairing of success in such an attempt, I shall content myself with providing materials for some superior artist.

This subject must be particularly interesting to the philologist, the antiquarian, and the philosopher. Every enlightened mind will be gratified by observing the commencement and progress of refinement: and it will be amusing to all, to be introduced to the interior of a family, that existed three thousand years before we were born.

As many of the particulars, to which we shall have occasion to advert, are connected with the circumstances of Homer and Hesiod, I think it expedient to premise a brief account of their lives, and the age in which they lived: but, instead of involving the reader in a detail of controverted fables, I shall confine myself to the narrative given of the father of poetry, by the father of history, and the few anecdotes, that have come down to us, relative to the Ascrean bard.

The life of Homer, by Herodotus, is admitted to be a work of great antiquity, even by those, who doubt whether it came from his own hand. There is nothing in it marvellous, nor even strange; no supernatural agents, no precocity of genius. It professes to be written by the oldest of the Greek historians, who was a native of Halicarnassus, and resided in Samos, at no great distance from Homer's country. Having always made these pretensions, it must, at least, have been nearly as ancient as he was, and is written in the same dialect, that he employed. It bears all the appearance of being com-

piled from the traditions, which prevailed in those cities, which Homer undoubtedly frequented; yet it is not calculated to answer any partial purpose. It does not even decide the controversy concerning the place of his birth, to the satisfaction of any of the contending cities. Whether, therefore, Herodotus were the author or not, it bears as strong marks of credibility, as any other account that has come down to our time. With respect to Homer himself, he is not represented as being famed in his youth for any extraordinary quality, except such a readiness of extemporaneous versification as has been common in other countries, which boast of a lively people, a flexible tongue, and a climate that admits of an idle, wandering life. The narrative commences, like his general history, with the author's name; and I cannot see any good reason, why the writer should falsely assume the name of the historian: his own fame would of course be sunk; and there was no factious purpose to serve.

The principal circumstance, which has led some learned men to question or deny the authenticity of this piece, is a remarkable discordance, with respect to the time of Homer's birth, between it and the general history; but, if these works were composed at distant periods in the life of Herodotus, he may either have fallen into this error through inadvertency, or may, in the interim, have obtained additional information, and not have had it in his power to cor-

rect his former mistake. This is more likely than that one, who wished to pass for Herodotus, should forge a history in his name, without adverting to those passages in his history, in which he had made mention of Homer.

Newton, after deducting 300 years from the chronology of the fabulous and heroic ages, fixes the destruction of Troy to the year 904, B. C.; and concludes, that Homer and Hesiod were contemporaries, and flourished about the year 870. To these conclusions he was led by the sphere of Chiron, and the succession of kings, the assertion of Hesiod, and the opinion of Herodotus. From the position of the solstitial and equinoctial points on the sphere, or scheme of the heavens, said to have been made by Chiron for the use of the Argonauts, he is enabled to fix the date of that expedition to the year 937, B. C. As the sons of the Argonauts fought in the Trojan war, and Hesiod asserts, that he lived in the following generation,\* the dates of these events also are determined; and from Herodotus it appears, that Homer lived at the same time.

This does not seem to agree with those frequent allusions in Homer to the degeneracy of his own times, when compared with those of which he wrote. But supposing Homer to have been forty or fifty

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\* Works & Days, 175. ]

years older than Hesiod, and to have composed his poems in the latter part of his life, there might be an interval between that time and the siege of Troy, that would justify those expressions. In modern times, it might not be sufficient, to account for such comparisons; but when we consider, that both the poet and his hearers delighted in the marvellous, and that few of those who heard him had any distinct knowledge of times before their own, we may not think these phrases inconsistent with the calculation. Newton agrees with Herodotus in making them contemporaries.—Madame Dacier will have Homer to be older than Hesiod, because he calls the river of *Ægypt*, *Ægyptus*, while Hesiod gives it the more modern name of the Nile: but although this appellation was known in Bœotia, it may have been later in coming into use in Chios. Cicero\* also believed Homer to have been the elder by many ages; Clarke takes the same side, arguing from some points in prosody; and the Greek scholiast, from certain proper names: but surely some words may have been pronounced differently in such distant countries; and who can tell which mode of pronunciation was the earlier? That Homer wrote before the return of the Heraclidæ, 80 years after the fall of Troy, has been argued from his silence con-

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\* *De Senectale.*

cerning that event, though it occasioned a general revolution both in Greece and Asia, particularly in the government and geographical partition of Peloponnesus, which he so accurately describes as they existed before the Trojan war. It is thought, that had he lived after that convulsion, he would certainly have noted the changes, which it occasioned in the condition of the Pelopidæ; as he does, the extinction of the Royal Family in Ætolia\*; especially as he records the acts of Hercules.† Neither does he make any mention of the Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian emigrations, or the council of the Amphictyons.

That they did not write, if they *wrote* at all, precisely at the same time, is evident from several passages, in which one must have imitated or copied the other; except they were both indebted to some of those numerous poets, who are said to have flourished before them. The charge of imitation must be fixed by deciding the question of priority; or the question of priority decided by fixing the charge of imitation. With respect to a common original, it has been said, that seventy-five poets flourished before Homer; but as we know nothing of them but a catalogue of names, we may dismiss the notion, that Homer and Hesiod derived any aid from them, as mere conjecture.

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\* Il. ii. 643.      † Il. vii. 363. xi. 690. Odyss. xxi. 25, & alibi.

They are both in the habit of ascribing to the gods appellations for things or persons, different from those used by men; but this, with several short phrases of frequent occurrence, I rather consider as the poetical phraseology of the times, than as marks of imitation. With them I would also class proverbial phrases, and a remarkable similarity of expression, particularly of epithets, running through their whole style.\* Omitting these, therefore, let us proceed to more decided marks of resemblance.

Hesiod says of a poet:† “A sweet voice flows from his mouth;” Homer,‡ of an orator: “From his tongue flowed a voice sweeter than honey.” The idea is common and natural; but the imitation seems to be fixed by the similarity of the expressions in Greek.§ If so, I am inclined to consider the more simple line of Hesiod as the original, and Homer’s as an enlargement and improvement upon it. This is more likely than that Hesiod should adopt so simple an idea only to deteriorate it.

They both describe the Chimera;|| and Homer’s

\* Compare Works and Days, 615, with Iliad, xviii. 486.—Theogony, 35 with Iliad xxii. 126. and Odyssey xix. 163. Theogony 38, with Homer *passim*.—Iliad v. 158, with Theogony 606.

† Theog. 97. ‡ Il. i. 249.

§ Γλυκερη γει αυδη & γλυκιων γειν αυδη.

|| Theog. 323. Il. vi. 181.

description consists of the last two lines of Hesiod's, word for word. This, I conceive to be a mark of imitation. These lines are a summary and illustration of what Hesiod had said before. Now it is more natural, that Homer should content himself with this concise description as he found it, than that Hesiod should adopt it from Homer, and then prefix to it the same particulars in different words. Hesiod is led by his subject to amplify; and Homer to abridge. In the one, it is part of an enumeration and description of monsters: in the other, it is a circumstance incidentally mentioned by Glaucus on the point of engaging with Diomede, when it would be unseasonable to expatiate.

Speaking of sleep and death, the sons of night, Hesiod says,\* “The flaming sun never looks upon them with his beams, mounting to heaven nor descending from heaven.” Homer† borrows the first part of this quotation, which he applies to the country of the Cimmerians, in the same words; but the latter clause he amplifies thus: “neither when he marches to the starry heaven, nor when he returns from heaven to earth:” and adds: “but dismal night is spread over these miserable mortals.” Here, I think, that Homer enlarges upon Hesiod, rather than that Hesiod abridges Homer. An imitator

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\* Theog. 756.      † Od. xi. 15.

may condense his author; but then it must be with a view to some improvement, which cannot be attributed to Hesiod in either of the instances just quoted, or else to some reason arising from the circumstances, as in Homer's Chimera.

In Hesiod's war of the giants, and Homer's battle of the gods, there are two lines alike, with the exception of a single word. The same resemblance holds throughout three lines in the shield of Hercules (156) and the eighteenth Iliad (535) with the variation of one word. In neither case is there any token of originality; but if one instance of imitation in Homer has been detected, this, I presume, must be imputed to him also.

The terror of Pluto is also common to both: but if Homer's divine lines were taken from Hesiod's, how nobly does he assert his superiority;\* and yet the war of the Titans is wrought up to a wonderful pitch of sublimity, commotion, tumult and terror.

\* Εδδεισεν δ' υπενερθεν αναξ ενερων Αἰδωνέν.

Δεισας δ' εκ Θεονοι αλτο και ιαχε, μη οι υπερθε

Γαιαν αναρρησει Ποσειδανη εννοσιχθων.

Οικια δε Ινηλοισι και αδανατοισι φανειη,

Σμερδαλέ, ευρωνιά, τα τε στυγεουσι Θεοι περ.

Il. xx. 61.

(The last line occurs two or three times in Hesiod, except Αγγαλέ for Σμερδαλέ. Theog. 749, &c.)

Τρεσες δ' Αιδης ενεροισι καλαφθιμενοισιν ανασσων,  
Τιληνες Υποτολαρταριοι, Κρονον αμφις εοντες.

Hesiod. Theog. 850.

While, however, we bestow the palm of genius on Homer, we must, for the same reason, concede the prize of originality to Hesiod; for it is impossible, that he should have so fallen off, had he seen Homer. He would rather have passed it by as inimitable. On the other hand, such a hint was well calculated to kindle the ambition of his rival.

In the description of this celestial warfare, Homer is concise and Hesiod copious. Still Homer's may be the imitation, both because it is an incident of less moment in the Iliad than the Theogony; and because in the passage already cited it is a manifest improvement. That one of them is an imitation of the other, is, I think, clear, from that passage and from the commencement of each.\* Speaking of the rivers, Hesiod says merely: "It would be difficult to give names to them all:" but Homer could not give names to all the Greeks, if he had ten tongues and as many mouths, a voice of iron and brazen lungs. Virgil could not enumerate the infernal torments nor even the different modes of grafting trees without a hundred tongues and mouths, and an iron voice. Again, Hesiod is content with plunging the Titans into Tartarus as far below the earth, as heaven is above it. Homer's Jupiter threatens to bury the re-

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\* Σχληρὸν δὲ εἰρηνῆσε (Ζεὺς) καὶ οὐρανὸν and Δεινὸν δὲ εἰρηνῆσε πάντας αὐθόνων τε θεῶν τε.

Theog. 839. Il. xx. 56

fractory gods as far below Tartarus, as the earth is below heaven. Virgil, to out-do them both, makes Tartarus twice as far below the other infernal regions, as heaven is above them. This spirit of exaggeration in Virgil, who is a professed imitator, leads us to ascribe Homer's extravagance to the same cause.

These instances are in favour of Hesiod. On the other hand, Homer's Vulcan took but one day to fall from Olympus to Lemnos: but Hesiod asserts, that an anvil would be nine days and nights in falling from heaven to earth, and as many from the earth into Tartarus, still adhering to his former statement, as to their relative distances. Milton requires but nine days for the fall of his angels through both spaces. In his allusion to the fall of Vulcan he confines himself to the time assigned in Homer; but like an imitator, amplifies in the description.\*

and how he fell

From heaven, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove,  
Sheer o'er the crystal battlements. From morn  
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,  
A summer's day; and with the setting sun  
Dropt from the Zenith, like a falling star  
On Lemnos, the Ægean isle.

These observations will be found to apply to the

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\* Par. Lost. I. 740.

shield of Hercules and the shield of Achilles. These have such a remarkable resemblance both in the general idea and the particular descriptions, that one must have been taken from the other; but Homer embellishes Hesiod and avoids his extravagance. Three lines have been already referred to, that occur in each poem; and in Hesiod, we find the rough draft of those pictures, which Homer has so beautifully finished in his eighteenth Iliad.\*

There are two lines in Hesiod's agricultural poem, and two in the Iliad, expressive of the same sentiment;† and that one author has copied from the other there can be no doubt, for the words are the same in both. On the whole, I think, the test of imitation would indicate, that Hesiod wrote before Homer. I conceive, that when two writers concur so nearly in sentiment and language, that one of them must have imitated the other, the imitation should be imputed to him, by whom a passage is most embellished, whether by expansion or condensation; and that this criterion confers priority on Hesiod and superiority on Homer. This conjectural criticism may be allowed some weight, at least when other notes of time are so scanty and ambiguous.

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\* Compare Shield 242, with Iliad xviii. 514; and Shield 273, with Iliad xviii. 491.

† Works and Days, 317. Odyss. xvii. 347. Iliad xxiv. 44.

Except Hesiod, the only authors, that have come down to our time, from whom Homer could have borrowed, are the more ancient writers of the Old Testament. As he is supposed by the best chronologers to have flourished above one hundred years after Solomon, and to have survived Ahab above fifty years, he may have had access to the Sacred Historians, as far down as the First Book of Kings, and received some account of the reign of Ahab and the life of Elijah. He may, at least, have obtained some account of these events and of the Sacred Writings, in conversation with those Phenician merchants and mariners, with whom he appears in his *Odyssey* to have been so well acquainted, and is supposed to have made such distant voyages. We cannot deny, that this is possible. Whether it is probable, let every one judge for himself. It would certainly require strong marks of resemblance to persuade us, that he availed himself of these opportunities, if indeed he possessed them; but, if so, they will form an additional criterion in judging of the time at which he wrote.

The close similitude between the manners of Homer's characters and those described by the Sacred Historians, would deserve particular notice in a treatise on the antiquities of Homer, but cannot be considered as marks of imitation: for the same customs have not only at all times been universally diffused over Asia, but remain unaltered till the present day.

There are also a variety of parallel passages, containing moral sentiments, with which Duporte has filled his *Gnomologia Homerica*: but the same are to be found, in various authors, beside the Sacred Writers and Homer, being only natural expressions of the feelings of the mind. Thus, the condolence of Achilles with Priam, on the death of Hector, is very similar to the consolation, which David administered to himself on the death of his child. “Now he is dead,” said David, “wherefore should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall never return to me.”\* “Bear up,” says Achilles, “and do not indulge perpetual grief; for you will gain nothing by grieving for your son: nor will you restore him to life, before you have suffered some other calamity;” which is, perhaps, a milder expression, after the manner of the ancients, for, “before you go to him.”†

Without deciding on any thing, I shall lay some striking coincidences before the reader. The first occurs in the First Book of Kings; and though this book did not, probably, exist in its present form, in the days of Homer, he may have seen the detached fragments, of which, it seems to have been composed, or heard the principal facts from Phenician travellers. Jehosophat said to Ahab: “Is there not here

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\* 2 Sam. xii. 23.

† See also Sophocles, *Electra*. 1. 136.

a prophet of the Lord besides, that we might inquire of him?" In like manner, Achilles said to Agamemnon: "Come, now, let us inquire of some prophet."<sup>\*</sup> And Ahab said unto Jehosophat: "There is yet one man: but I hate him; for he doth not prophesy good concerning me but evil." In like manner,<sup>†</sup> Agamemnon says to Chalcas: "Prophet of ills, you never spoke any thing agreeable to me; but always took delight in prophesying evil." On the same occasion, Micaiah, in his reply to Ahab, represents the Lord, as saying—"Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? And there came forth a spirit and said, I will persuade him: and the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets: and the Lord said; Go forth, and do so." It is to be observed, that the Sacred Historian does not relate this as a fact, but as an allegory used by Micaiah. A similar allegory is employed by Homer.<sup>‡</sup> "Jupiter determined to send a deceitful dream to Agamemnon, and thus addressed him: Hence, thou pernicious dream: go to the ships of the Greeks: and tell Agamemnon to arm for battle." Here the coincidence is the more extraordinary, because the idea is, perhaps, no where else to be met with, and because the two passages occur so near to each other in both authors; and both spirits are sent on similar errands.

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\* 1 Kings xxii. 7.—ll. i. 62.      † ll. i. 106.      ‡ ll. ii. 5.

Another extraordinary coincidence, except we suppose Homer to have seen the Book of Genesis, is to be found in the Eleventh Iliad, (27.)\* where he says, expressly, that “*Jupiter fixed the rainbow in the cloud, as a sign to mortal men:*” agreeably to these words of Moses: †“*I have set my rainbow in the cloud; and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth.*” The Hebrew word is the same, that is applied to the sun and moon in the first chapter; and is there interpreted by Robertson, “*a token of the interposition of God;*” which agrees exactly with the Greek word selected by Homer.

In the twenty-fourth book of his Iliad, (527.) Homer puts this allegory into the mouth of his hero. “*Two urns are placed on the floor of Jove, full of the gifts which he bestows; the one, of good; the other, of evil. He, to whom he gives them mixed, will sometimes meet with evil, sometimes with good: but he, to whom he gives sorrow, will be always exposed to injuries. Dire calamity will persecute him, while he remains upon the earth. He will pass through life, honoured neither by gods nor men.*” This has the appearance of an amplification of the eighth verse of the seventy-fifth psalm:—“*In the hand of the Lord there is a cup; and the wine is*

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\* . . . . . *ιρισσιν εοικοῦες, ας τε Κρονιων*  
*Εν νεφεῃ στηριζε, τερας μεροπων αιθρωπων.*

† Gen. ix. 13.

red. It is full of *mixture*; and he poureth out of the same: but the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out and drink them."

If these correspondences had occurred between Homer and any Greek author of a remoter age, we should hardly hesitate, in pronouncing the quotations from the Iliad to be imitations. There are some others, which I will insert, though they may be more easily accounted for, by a natural coincidence in the sentiments and language of men writing on similar subjects.

Job\* says, "Inquire of the former age: for we are of yesterday and know nothing:" and Homer,†—"Tell me, ye Muses, for ye know all things: but we have only heard a rumour, and know nothing." Moses permits the man who had betrothed a wife, or built a new house, to return home, lest he die in the battle, and another man take his wife and his house; and Homer laments, as peculiarly hard, the fate of a man, who had left a wife and an unfinished house in his own country. In the fiftieth Psalm, the Lord is introduced, saying: "I will not reprove thee *for thy sacrifices*;" that is, for your neglect of sacrifices: and Chalceas adopts the same sentiment and form of speech;‡ "Apollo does not reprove you *for your prayers and sacrifices*." Goliath challenges the Israelites in these words: "Choose ye a man for you, and let him come down to me. If he be able to fight and to kill me, then will we be

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\* Job. viii. 9.

† Il. ii. 86.

‡ Il. i. 93.

your servants: but if I prevail against him and kill him, then shall ye be our servants. Give me a man that we may fight together.” So Hector says to the Greeks: “Let any man that will fight with me, come hither, to be a champion against Heetor:” and it was agreed, that, if Menelaus killed Paris, the Trojans should pay tribute to the Greeks for ever. But this may relate rather to manners than style.

The uniformity, that prevails in the customs of the East, and in the condition of all countries that are thinly inhabited, sometimes occasions a resemblance between the similitudes employed by Homer and in Scripture. Thus Homer has the following comparison: “As destructive fire rages in the mountains, in the deep recesses of a thick wood.”\* The same simile occurs in the Psalms:† “As the fire burneth a wood, and the flame setteth the mountains on fire.” Thus too, the similes of the lion and the shepherds,‡ in Isaiah and Homer: “Like as the lion,” says the Hebrew Prophet, “roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds is called forth against him, will not be afraid of their voice, nor abate himself for their noise.” A similar comparison is thus expressed by the Grecian Bard: “As a lion, bred in the mountains, impelled by hunger to attack the sheep, and even to enter the fenced fold, though he find the shepherds defending them with dogs and spears, cannot endure to retreat without making an attempt upon their strong hold.”

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\* Il. xv. 605. † Psalms xxxii. 14. ‡ Il. xii. 299.—Isaiah xxxi. 4.

LIFE OF HOMER.

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I SHALL now give a brief abstract of the life of Homer by Herodotus, not only as the most authentic account of our Author, but also as exhibiting a picture of manners very ancient and little known, and thus according with every object of this tract.

His mother, Critheis, having been seduced, was advised to hide her shame by removing from Cumæ of Æolia to Smyrna, which was then building by a colony from Cumæ; and, while she was attending a festival at the river Meles, was delivered of a son, whom she named Melesigines. Having, for some years, supported him by her labour, and given him the best education in her power, she attracted the notice of Phemius, a schoolmaster, who wanted a servant to prepare some wool, which he had received in payment from his scholars. By him the education of Homer, as we shall call him by anticipation, was completed; and when he died, his pupil succeeded to his school. As Smyrna was a market for the export of grain, it was frequented by sea faring people, who took pleasure in the company of Homer. Among these was Mentes, from Leucas, a well edu-

cated and intelligent man for those times. This man encouraged Homer, by a pecuniary reward, and the prospect of seeing the world, to give up his school, and accompany him on a trading voyage. They accordingly visited Etruria, Spain and Ithaca, where Homer being attacked by a violent complaint in his eyes, was committed to the care of Mentor, while Mentes paid a visit to Leucas. On his return, they sailed for Colophon, where Homer became blind; and so returned to Smyrna, and applied to poetry. After some time, he removed to Cumæ, the native place of his mother, who was then dead. Stopping on his way at Neontichus, a colony of Cumæans, he was hospitably entertained by Tyehius, a currier, to whom he had introduced himself by a few verses, which he sang at the door of his workshop, supplicating relief, and celebrating the dignity and beauty of the town and neighbourhood. During his stay, he exhibited his Expedition of Amphiaraus, and his Hymns. In the time of Herodotus, the towns-people shewed the seat on which he sat, while he recited his verses, and a poplar that had grown there since that time. Being still very poor, he determined to proceed to Cumæ; and took leave of Neontichus with a couplet, in which he seems to contrast the expected liberality of Cumæ with the treatment he had received.

Taking the shortest road through Larissa, he was solicited to write an epitaph for the monument of Midas, king of Phrygia, with which we are also

favoured by Herodotus. It is supposed to be spoken by a brazen statue of a young woman, who professes, that while water flows and trees are green; while the sun shines and the moon is bright; while rivers run and the sea washes the shore, she will remain on that tomb, bedewed by her tears, and declare to the passengers, that Midas is buried there. This inscription remained on the pillar in the time of Herodotus. When he found that the Cumæans admired his verses, he solicited to be maintained at the public expense, promising to render their city famous. Upon this he was encouraged to prefer his petition to the town council. He accordingly had himself introduced, and explained his pretensions. These were favoured by those who knew him; but one of the magistrates saying, that if they were to support all the Homeri, (for so the Cumæans call the blind) they would soon have abundance of these idle people, his petition was rejected, and he received the name of Homer. Being informed of this determination by the president, he vented his feelings in some verses, which have also been preserved by his biographer. Then praying, that Cumæ might never have a poet of celebrity, he departed for Phocæa, where, as usual, he recited his verses at the places of public resort, till he was invited by Thestorides, a teacher of youth, to take up his abode with him, and let him copy his verses. Here he composed the lesser Iliad, the first lines of which have also been preserved, and the Phocæid. Finding himself ne-

glected by Thestorides, who had formed a plan to leave Phocæa, and appropriate his poems to his own use, he reproached him in a couplet, the purport of which is—of all things inscrutable by man, the heart of man is most inscrutable. Thestorides, however, took his departure for Chios, and soon acquired fame and profit by repeating Homer's verses as his own. As Homer still continued to recite his poems for bread, some Chian merchants who heard him, declared, that they had heard the same verses from a school-master at Chios, upon which he determined immediately to confront the impostor; but as there was no vessel ready to sail for Chios, he embarked in a ship bound for Erythræa and offered up an extemporary prayer in verse to Neptune, for a favourable wind, a good reception among just and pious men, and vengeance on a man who had basely deceived him, and violated the rights of hospitality.

On his landing, he welcomed Erythræa in three verses descriptive of the country: and meeting with an old acquaintance, he begged his assistance in procuring a passage to Chios. His friend having applied to some fishermen, and met with a refusal, Homer vented his anger in four lines, in which he describes the savage character and life of sailors, and cautions them to beware of offending the god of hospitality. The boat being put back, he applied to them again, promising them a fair wind, if they would take him on board. These rude seamen having landed him in Chios, thought only of their own

affairs, and left our blind poet to wander through the country without a guide. After some time, he arrived at a place called the Pine-trees, and falling asleep under a pine, one of the cones fell upon him, and awakened him ; a circumstance, which, as usual, he celebrated in verse. At length he was attracted by the cries of some goats ; but, as he approached the herd, he was assaulted by the dogs, from which he was soon disengaged by Glauclus, the goatherd, who conducted him to his cot. As the dogs continued to bark at him, and neglected their food, he advised the goatherd, in some extemporary verses, to feed the dogs at the outside of the door, both to keep them quiet, and that they might more readily hear the approach of a wild beast, or a thief. Having finished his supper, and related the story of his travels and adventures, our Poet went to bed, and while he slept off his fatigue, his host determined to go in the morning to Bolissus, a neighbouring village, to inform his master what an extraordinary guest he had entertained. His master, like the Cumæan senator, reprimanded him for entertaining blind beggars ; but yet desired to see the stranger, and, after some conversation, employed him to teach his children. During his stay in this house, he composed his *Batrachomuomachia*, *Cercopes*, *Margitis* and *Epicichlides*, and all his other ludicrous pieces, if indeed he ever composed them. As soon as his fame reached the capital, Thestorides abandoned Chios ; and, soon after, Homer removed

to town, established a school, married, and had two daughters, one of whom died unmarried, and the other became the wife of a Chian. I presume it was here, he composed his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; for Herodotus adds, that he now applied himself to poetry, and took occasion to record his gratitude to his benefactor Tychius in the *Iliad*, and Mentes, Phemius and Mentor in the *Odyssey*.

His fame had, by this time, pervaded Ionia and Greece, and he was encouraged to travel through those countries. He first landed at Samos, during the celebration of the *Apaturia*, to which an old acquaintance procured him an invitation. On his way he interfered with some women who were offering a sacrifice, and being desired by one of them to stand off rather rudely, he inquired into the cause, and vented his resentment in verse, wishing that she might reject the courtship of the young, and at last be married to an old man. As he entered the hall of entertainment, which was furnished with a cheerful fire, he stopped at the door, and saluted it in five lines to the following purport:—Children are the pride of a parent, and towers of a city: Horses an ornament to the plain; and ships to the sea: Riches grace a palace: Kings sitting in council are the glory of a state; and a blazing fire is the beauty of a house.

Having slept in the town house, he was accosted next morning on his return by some tilers, who were kindling a kiln of tiles, and offered him a reward,

if he would sing to them: he immediately complied in a long copy of verses, which went by the name of *the Kiln*. In these he shows, that he is intimately acquainted with their art; and prays for every blessing on their work, if they treat him well; otherwise, imprecates a variety of curses.

During the winter, on the first day of each month, he went round to the houses of the rich, attended by a train of children, singing his verses, which were used for a long time after by the boys of the city, when they collected alms at the feast of Apollo. In subject they resembled the song of our Christmas Waits, praying peace, plenty, and happy marriages; promising to return like the swallow in spring, but not to be troublesome then, whether they got any thing or not.

Setting sail in spring for Athens, he was driven into Ios, and detained there by contrary winds. As the vessel was far from the town, he slept upon the beach, in preference to lodging in the ship, though in a very frail state of health. During his stay, the towns-people resorted to the place, to enjoy his conversation; and were joined by some young men just returned from fishing, who proposed a riddle, which none of the party were able to solve: “What we took we left: what we did not take, we brought away.” This they explained by telling them, that having taken no fish, they were employed, while they sat on the shore, in relieving themselves from certain troublesome vermin. Those that they

caught, they left behind: the rest they were obliged to bring with them. Disgust at this filthy solution, or mortification at being unable to explain the riddle, provoked Homer to tell them in verse, that they must be the sons of mean and contemptible parents, like themselves.

Here Homer died, and was buried by his fellow-travellers and the towns-people. The people of the island engraved this epitaph on his tomb, after his poems had been published, and were admired by all: Here the earth covers that sacred head, the divine Homer, the panegyrist of heroes.\*

Herodotus concludes with two reasons for considering Homer as an Æolian, and not an Ionian, or Dorian, and for fixing the precise time at which he lived; though he himself was a Dorian, having acquired the Ionic dialect, in which he wrote, at Samos. That he was an Æolian, he argues from two circumstances in the sacrifices of the Iliad, which were peculiar to that people; namely, the use of a five pronged spit, or fork, instead of one with three prongs, and their not burning a certain part of the victim.†

In tracing the era at which Homer lived, he is very particular. From the Trojan Expedition till

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\* Ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ γῆν καλύπτει

Ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θεῖον "Ομηρον.

† Οστευ.

the building of Cities, in Lesbos, was 130 years: from that time till the building of Cumæ, 20 years: from that event till the founding of the colony of Smyrna, when Homer was born, 18 years: and thence till the expedition of Xerxes, 622 years. Homer, therefore, was born 168 years after the Trojan expedition. In Euterpe, on the contrary, it is said, that Homer and Hesiod lived 400 years, and not more, before Herodotus, who was four years old when Xerxes invaded Greece; consequently about 220 years later than stated in his life.

As there will be frequent occasion to refer to the poems of Hesiod, it may be proper to give a brief account of him here. His father was a native of Cumæ, in Æolia, the birth place of Homer's mother, from which he removed to Ascra, in Boeotia, on account of debt. There are two different stories told, and copies of verses preserved, concerning poetical contests, in which he is said to have been engaged with Homer, one at Chalcis, the other at Delos; to the latter of which, perhaps, some lines in Homer's Hymn to Apollo, (v. 149) may refer. In one or both of these he is said to have been victorious; as attested by an inscription on a tripod, set up at Helicon to the muses,\* and by a fragment, ascribed

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\* Ησιόδος Μουσαῖς ελικωνιστονδ' ανεθήκε,  
Τύμνω μηησας εν Χαλκιδὶ Δειον Ομηρον.

Dion.

to him by an old Scholiast on Pindar. It is alleged, however, that the stupidity of the judge became proverbial.\* How far these stories agree with the Life of Homer assigned to Herodotus, and which of them should be preferred, I leave the reader to determine. He seems to have been unhappy in his family. His poem on agriculture is full of prudent advice, mixed with sarcastic remarks, to his brother Perses; who had improvidently expended part of his property, which he had fraudulently obtained from Hesiod. He is said to have composed sixteen complete works; three of which, with some fragments, have come down to our days, with the titles of the remainder. Some assert, that he was fond of travelling; but, except the passage be spurious, he informs us, that he was quite ignorant of maritime affairs, and never was at sea, except crossing from Aulis to Eubœa, to the games at Chalcis, in honour of Amphidamus,† at which he was victorious, and consecrated a tripod to the Heliconian muses, without mentioning his antagonist. If this were his first voyage, he was born after his father removed to Ascrea. He was put

\* Πανίδου Ψηφος.

† ενθα με φημι

Τμων νικησαντα φερειν τριποδ' αιωνια,  
Τον μεν εγω Μουσης ελικωνιαδεσσ' ανειδηκα.

to death on suspicion of a crime, of which he has been acquitted by posterity.

Homer was styled *the Poet* by the ancients; and still retains the title of the Father of Poetry, with such general consent, that I presume it will never more be questioned; whether we consider it as implying seniority or superior excellence. If any of those, who can read him with facility in the original, dispute this title, we can only appeal to the voice of ages. Those, who venture to call it in question, on the authority of translations, should recollect the opinion of Voltaire, that translations aggravate the faults of a work, and spoil its beauties.—“Les traductions augmentent les fautes d'un ouvrage, et en gâtent les beautés.”

If, however, any one should controvert his pretensions to such unqualified superiority, his pre-eminence in epic poetry is, I presume, unquestionable. The Iliad is a phenomenon in literature. No country, not even Greece itself, can boast of more than one epic poem of distinguished merit; and no people put their own epic poet, much less any other, on a level with Homer. Notwithstanding the obsolete language, rude manners, and incredible fictions of the Iliad, and the partiality of moderns for their own language, manners, and religion, they all acknowledge, that there is no heroic poem, that does not appear cold, inanimate and insipid, in comparison. If they did prefer their own, they would still be unanimous in giving their second vote to Homer;

as the commanders at Salamis did to Themistocles, who thus obtained the votes of all, while none of his competitors had more than one.

In the character of his language he enjoyed advantages, that have never fallen to the lot of any poet in later times. It was copious in its vocabulary, flexible in its phraseology, and artificial in its structure, abounding in compound epithets; and every compound, picturesque or animated. Its inflexions were harmonious; and the whole so sweet, musical, and nervous, that there is not even a harsh proper name to be found in Homer; and the meanest subjects are dignified by his style. The peculiar advantage which he possessed, consisted in the state of the Greek tongue at that period. He lived before the common language was divided into different dialects, and these appropriated to certain tribes and districts; and he was, therefore, at liberty to use them all. This, with the power of inversion, the numerous particles peculiar to that language, and the extent of poetic licence, relieved him, in a great measure, from the constraint of verse, and enabled him to express his ideas with unbounded freedom. The writers, who came after him, were obliged to confine themselves each to one dialect, as Herodotus and Hippocrates, who preferred the Ionic to their native Doric. The Doric again was chosen by Pindar and the pastoral poets, till the Attic gained the ascendant; and though peculiarly well adapted to Iambic verse, cramped the dramatic writers by

an unprecedented severity of metre. None of these circumstances, however, will account for the composition and conduct of his great work, which has been adopted as a model by Aristotle, Horace and Bossu, and above all, by Virgil; but never rivalled by any poet: yet, after all, there may be nothing wonderful in this. It, no doubt, requires a comprehensive mind, that can embrace the whole of a simple subject; for such should be the action of an epic poem: but it does not seem to demand a superior genius, to tell such a story with consistency, and in a natural order; preserving unity, by introducing such digressions only, as arise naturally out of the subject, and forward the action, or relieve the narration, without being led astray by a vain desire of telling every thing, displaying learning, or working up ill-timed descriptions. Such a writer will naturally confine himself to the subject he has undertaken to illustrate. If he professes to treat of the anger of Achilles, he will think it absurd to begin with the birth of Helen; and will hardly expect praise for avoiding such an absurdity: for he does not mean to compose a chronological history, but to make all his facts and descriptions converge to one point; neither will he expect commendation for conducting his poem chiefly by dialogue, and adapting the language of his heroes to their respective characters, for this is the uniform course of human affairs. There is no such thing in life as a series of silent actions. In short, there are no rational rules laid down by

critics, that might not be unwittingly observed by an enlarged mind, in full possession of its subject, rich in imagination, and superior to ostentation. It is only a wonder, that this combination is so rare. Perhaps, Homer owed his superiority in this respect to the simple age in which he lived, before literary vanity, ingenious refinements, affectation and pedantry had birth. When, however, we consider, that Homer is the only man, by whom this undertaking has been accomplished to the satisfaction of all; and take into the account, the many privations and disadvantages, to which he was personally subject, we shall still deem him worthy of all the praises, with which he has been hailed in his descent to our times.

Lest it should be thought, that I overlook or undervalue the *Episodes*, and inferior incidents of the *Iliad*, I must add, that it excels all other poems not more in grandeur of subject, artifice of composition, and elevation of style, than in amiable and affecting views of private life and character, specimens of the most variegated and convincing eloquence, and original pictures of the most sublime and beautiful scenes in nature.

These remarks relate to the *Iliad*. The subject of the *Odyssey* precludes the possibility of observing the unities, or other distinguishing attributes of its companion; but were I restricted for life to one book of entertainment, I should choose the *Odyssey*.

Beside the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the *desiderata* mentioned by Herodotus, there are forty-nine pieces ascribed to Homer, still extant, including the epigrams quoted in his life: but a variety of opinions exist with respect to their authenticity. His battle of the frogs and mice is a very spirited and humorous specimen of mock heroic. In perusing it, I observed several words not to be found in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*: of these the most remarkable is one,\* which implies not only, that the art of writing was practised in his days, but that he committed this poem to writing himself. Another phrase, which appears more unequivocally to point to a period later than Homer, is *Pancratium*.† If the *Plectrum* was in use in Homer's days, we might expect to find it in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in which he has so often occasion to introduce the muses and the bards; but it occurs only in the hymn to Apollo. (v. 185.) The word *lyre*‡ also occurs but once; and that in the minor poems.

If the hymn to Apollo be genuine, it also contains the only express mention of Homer that occurs in any of his works. He entreats Latona, Apollo, and Diana, if any stranger should ask them, who was the sweetest poet, and their greatest favourite, to say,

\* Δελῆσ.

† Πανκρατίω τε παλη τε καὶ εἰς δρόμον—Bat. 95.

‡ Λύρα.

“A blind man who lives in Chios, whose songs will be celebrated in after ages, and will carry our praises over the whole world:” and men will believe this, says Homer; for it is true. (v. 164.)

In the following treatise, I may have occasion to advert to some particulars in these minor poems; but as their authenticity is not unquestionable, the reader will receive them with a proportional degree of caution. I shall also make use of the Sacred Writings, for the purpose of illustrating the manners of the Trojan times, and Homer’s days. Some of their authors were contemporary with him or his heroes, and lived in the same quarter of the world: but as the customs of the east are the same in very distant countries, and undergo little or no change by time, it will not be necessary to be very scrupulous with respect to the place or period in which they flourished.

The readers will not, I trust, be displeased, that in this Introductory Section, I have not perplexed myself or them with those frigid disquisitions, with which the learned have laboured to extinguish our enthusiasm, and feed a heartless and tasteless scepticism; concerning the reality of the Siege of Troy, the existence of its poet, the authenticity of the *Odyssey*, and the interpolations in the *Iliad*.

## SECTION I.

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ASTRONOMY AND CHRONOLOGY.

IN the first part of this Essay, I shall give some account of the state of science in the times, of which I have undertaken to treat. I shall begin with Astronomy, not only as the most sublime department of natural knowledge; but because, of all the sciences, it was of the greatest importance to the ancients; since their progress in the arts of navigation and agriculture could neither be effected nor explained without it. The principles of Astronomy, as far as they are connected with practice, have been rendered so familiar; and the results of difficult calculations are so generally reduced to tables, that we cannot, at first sight, see the variety of ways, in which this science is subservient to the necessities of man. This facility of acquiring knowledge is now become so great, in many arts and sciences, as to damp the order of study, as well as to remove the necessity of investigation. But in those early times, every man; who ploughed the sea or land, was depen-

dent on his own personal observation for that knowledge, which we now find in our almanacks. Yet notwithstanding this necessity of studying the face of the heavens; notwithstanding the fine climate of Greece and Asia Minor, and the clear sky and extensive plains of Egypt, Arabia, and other eastern countries, the notices of astronomical knowledge, which occur in my authors, are very inconsiderable. Newton may have had reason for his reliance on the celestial sphere, constructed by Chiron, and the confidence, with which he builds his system of Chronology on the precision of the Centaur, in ascertaining the equinoctial and solstitial points; but I must confine myself to the written records, without desiring to find in Homer more than Homer knew, or denying, that he may have known more than he had occasion to communicate, or might be ignorant of what might be known to others.

Let us imagine to ourselves a Chaldean shepherd, of a comprehensive mind, and a contemplative turn, spending his days in the open air, and tending his flocks by night; and endeavour to ascertain, how far he might advance in astronomical knowledge, merely by ocular observation; and then compare his discoveries with those intimations on the same subject, which we meet with in Homer and Hesiod.

The first phenomenon, that would obtrude itself on his attention, is the apparent diurnal progress of the sun. He would every day see it rise in the eastern quarter of the heavens, and set in the west.

He could not suppose that he saw a different luminary every morning;\* and must, therefore, conclude that it had some means of returning from west to east. This could be effected only by passing through, or under the earth. When he observed, that the moon and stars all followed the same course, though rising in different parts of the horizon, he might naturally suspect, that the earth was poised in circumambient air by some invisible and inconceivable power, or supported by an axis. Thus Solomon concluded, "that the sun hasteth to the place, whence he arose;" and Job, that "God hangeth the earth upon nothing." He would soon observe, that the sun does not always rise or set at the same point of the eastern or western horizon; but makes a regular progress from north to south, and south to north alternately. Thus he might mark the solstitial points on his own horizon; and observe, that the days were longer in his northern progress, and shorter when he reached his southern boundary; and that at an intermediate point, the days and nights were equal. In this manner, and by observing the meridian shadow of objects, at different seasons, he might form some idea of the annual revolution of the sun, of the meridian, tropics, ecliptic, and solar year.

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\* The savages in Africa are said to believe, that the moon is created every month; and have never considered, whether every day's sun be the same, or different. They count their years by rainy seasons.

The moon, with its nocturnal and menstrual revolutions, its various phases, and its progress among the stars, is another celestial object, that could not escape his notice. He might even recognize a relation between the different appearances of the moon, and its position with respect to the sun; which would, in process of time, suggest the idea, that its light was borrowed from that source. He would perceive, that twelve changes of the moon took place within one annual revolution of the sun, and thus get an idea of months, and the lunar year; and by comparing that period with his observations on the sun, he might ascertain the difference between the lunar and solar year. He might very soon distinguish the planets from the fixed stars, and trace their path through the constellations, and their apparent distances from the sun. Comets being of rare occurrence, and temporary duration, might either not attract his notice, or be mistaken for casual atmospheric meteors: but the fixed stars, being always presented to his view, would soon become the principal subjects of his contemplation. He would observe, that though the seasons were produced by the efficacy of the sun, their approach and changes were indicated by the rising and setting of certain stars of superior magnitude and splendour. These appearances would give rise to reflections of great interest and importance, which might occasion him to note with accuracy, their rising and setting. They would also serve to indicate the approach of calm or tem-

pestuous weather; and consequently the most eligible times for navigation and agriculture.

He would soon learn to give names not only to the most distinguished stars, but also to certain clusters; and could not fail to observe, that, while some of these constellations revolved in larger circles, others were confined to narrower bounds; and that they all appeared to regard one point in the heavens as a common centre, which remained immovable. This he might naturally consider as the pole of the heavens. This pole, he would observe, was not in the plane of his horizon, but elevated considerably above it: and, conceiving it to be beyond the space occupied by the earth, he might attain to the conception of Job: "He stretcheth forth the north over the empty space." He must take notice, every night, that some of these constellations are always visible, and that others rise and set like the sun and moon. If he travelled north or south, he would perceive, that this circle of perpetual apparition was continually changing; and that new stars were coming into view, and others disappearing, as he travelled in one direction, or the other. Having observed these appearances, and others on the face of the earth, it would require no great stretch of thought to conclude, that the world may be globular.

It might be too much to expect, that he should think of accounting for many of these phenomena by the annual and diurnal motions of the earth; but it is, no doubt, possible, that men might attain to

this conclusion by mere ocular observation, without the use of instruments, or any depth of mathematical science: and that by transmitting their observations from generation to generation, they might form tables, and ascertain cycles, that would greatly extend their astronomical knowledge. How far the knowledge of Homer and Hesiod fell short of this degree of science, will appear by the following observations on their works.

From the poetical descriptions of the sun's rising and setting in the ocean,\* we cannot draw any inference as to their knowledge of that luminary. But from their silence as to the figure of the earth, and the passage of the sun from west to east, we are left at liberty to suppose, that the poets were content with conducting him from the eastern ocean, and plunging him into the western, without troubling themselves to account for his return to the east, during the night. In the Mosaical account of the creation, there is nothing that betrays ignorance, or displays knowledge on these points: but in the book of Job, which is thought by many to be more ancient than Moses, and the story of which, is supposed to be placed in Arabia Petraea, there is an extraordinary expression, already quoted, intimating, that the author was acquainted with the sphericity of the earth, or at least, which comes nearly to the same

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\* Il. viii. 485. xix. 1.—Od. xxii. 197.

point, with its being suspended in circumambient air: "Who stretcheth the north over the empty space, and hangeth the earth upon nothing."\*

When Hesiod observed,† that in winter the sun rolled over the nation and city of the black men, or Ethiopians, and came later to the Greeks, it is surprising, that he did not perceive the conclusions, which flowed from this important fact. But he not only observed the southern declination of the sun; he also calls the winter solstice, the turnings or tropics of the sun; and consequently had remarked the point, at which he returns toward the north.‡ The same phrase occurs in the *Odyssey*, in a passage, that has given some trouble to the commentators. Eumæus, in Ithaca, describing Syria, or Sycros, one of the Cyclades, where he was born, uses the phrase,§ "where (are) the turnings of the sun.|| As at a later period, Pherecydes is said to have erected a heliotrope or gnomon in this island, by which the times of the summer and winter solstice were ascertained; and Homer tells us, that the Phenicians, who were the best astronomers and navigators of those times, frequented the Island; it has been sup-

\* Antiquissimum esse omnium monumentorum sacrorum, res, sermo, universus character, ipsa denique obscuritas arguit.—Mose antiquorem fuisse (Jobum) ac æqualem etiam Patriarchis, ipsius longa ætas indicat.—Lowth *Prælectio*, xxxii.

† *Works and Days*, 527. ‡ *Works and Days*, 479, 564.

§ Οδι τροπαιηστοι. || *Od. xv. 403.*

posed, that even then it was famous for some instrument of the same nature. Mr. Wood,\* however, thinks this passage, as well as many others, may be elucidated by placing ourselves in the situation of Homer, who resided in Chios, or on the Asiatic coast. This was the country, in which he formed his ideas, and the point of view, from which he drew his pictures; as when he describes the Locrians, lying beyond Eubræa, Boreas and Zephyrus blowing from Thrace, a westerly storm blowing against the shore: and, though Eumaæus is the speaker, Sycros as the seat of the solstice, the sun setting behind that island, at different points, in different seasons. This solution of the difficulty is natural and poetical.

Among all my references I do not find one, that points to any astronomical observation on the moon, or any poetical use made of her phases, even in the ode addressed to her; nor on eclipses. Nor does it appear, that our poets had any knowledge of the planets. The only one mentioned, is Venus, under the appellation of Hesperus, or the evening star; and of the star, that announces the light of Aurora, daughter of the morning. But she is not described as differing from the fixed stars. Hesperus and Phosphorus, or Lucifer, were considered as different stars long after Homer's time. As they took no

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\* Wood's Original Genius of Homer.

notice of the motions of the planets, which so often solicited their attention, it can hardly be expected, that they would notice the more transitory and irregular appearance of comets. I am therefore disposed to interpret that passage of the Iliad, where the descent of Minerva is likened to a star, which Jupiter sends, as a portentous sign to armies and navigators, as referring to a shooting star, or other atmospheric meteor,\* which more aptly represents the rapid flight of the goddess.

The constellations mentioned by these ancient poets, are the Ursa Major, Pleiades, Hyades, Bootes, and Orion. Even in Homer's days the Bear had also the name of the Wain, or Waggon. He describes it as always turning round in the same place, watching Orion, as if the Bear were afraid of that famous hunter, and as alone exempt from the streams of the ocean.† As he repeats the last circumstance in the Odyssey, we may suspect, that Homer did not know the name of any constellation or star, that never set, except the Bear; and consequently was ignorant of all the other constellations, that lie within his circle of perpetual apparition. Now as he lived in Chios, or nearly in the same latitude, his circle of perpetual apparition would include the Dragon, Ursa Minor, Cassiopëia, Cepheus, and other less considerable constellations, beside parts of Bootes,

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\* Il. iv. 77. † Il. xviii. 487.

and some others; the names of all which must of course have been unknown to Homer. It is also observable, that though the Hyades and Pleiades are so often mentioned in Hesiod, Homer, Job, and Amos, there is no notice taken of Taurus, of which they make a part. Hence it appears pretty certain, that the Bull had not received a name, especially since it was so well adapted for a place in poetry; as Virgil afterwards showed. As Bootes is called *piger* by the Latin poets, so has he received a similar epithet from Homer.\* These epithets, I suppose, he owes to his taking as much time to describe his small circle, as suffices for the more southern constellations to pass through a larger; and being on the circle of perpetual apparition, he will hardly appear to set at all. I am inclined to think, that Homer describes the milky way, when he says, that a white splendour, or splendid whiteness, ran along near the palace of the gods.† The region of the Northern Lights, if they were known at that time, is not so suitable for the residence of the Deities, as the height of heaven: besides, he describes the place as never shaken with the winds, nor wet with showers, nor sprinkled with snow. Perhaps Ovid took his *via ad palatia cœli* from this.

The single stars mentioned by the poets, are the Dog of Orion, Hesperus, the morning star, Arcturus,

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\* Οψε δευοντα.—Od. v. 272. † Od. vi. 45.

and Sirius. Homer describes Orion's dog, "as appearing with peculiar splendour among many stars in a dark night,"\* in *Autumn*, as a fatal sign bringing fevers on miserable mortals. As both the superior brightness, and the fatal influence of this star agree with Sirius, and as Sirius is no where mentioned by name in Homer, though the word occurs in Hesiod,† I suppose the Dog Star is intended here. In Hesiod, the commentators understand it as synonymous with the sun. Hesperus and the morning star are Venus, but not known as a planet. Arcturus, another star of the first magnitude, is said by Hesiod to leave the sacred streams of the ocean sixty days after the winter solstice.‡ The only remaining celestial appearance is the rainbow, which is generally mentioned as the female messenger of heaven, or considered, perhaps, as the path by which she descended. Homer also speaks of Iris in the plural, as fixed in the cloud by Jupiter, for a portentous sign to mortal men.§

The only constellations, or clusters of stars, expressly mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, are the Pleiades, or Seven Stars, and Orion; by Mazzaroth are generally understood the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Arcturus is also mentioned; and what Job calls the chambers of the south. As none of the

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\* Il. xxii. 29. † Works and Days, 417. ‡ Works and Days, 566. § Il. xi. 27.

names, by which these celestial bodies are expressed, occur any where except in three passages,\* there is some difficulty about the meaning of them: but the translators of the Septuagint Version, who lived when both Greek and Hebrew were in common use, interpret them as our English translators do; except that they substitute Hesperus for Orion in one place, and in another for Arcturus. This variety, however, makes no addition to the heavenly bodies already mentioned. Still we are not to conclude, that these were the only stars that were known, or had obtained names. The reason of their being particularly mentioned, is the critical times of their rising and setting; by which the operations of husbandry and navigation were chiefly regulated. But from the Shield,† it appears that Homer at least knew no more. The chambers of the south may be an elegant expression for those southern parts, which lie within the circle of perpetual occultation.

As to any observations on the heavenly bodies, made in the times of which I speak, I find none, except the rising and setting of the stars, by which they regulated the business of husbandry and navigation. Neither were these risings and settings real. They were all apparent, though of different kinds, Heliacal, Cosmical, and Acronycal. Their observations must have been very vague; yet by noting

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\* Job ix. 9: xxxviii. 31.—Amos v. 8. † Il. xviii. 485.

the periodical appearance of a star, they were able to correct the lunar year, and change it for the solar, and to mark the seasons for ploughing, sowing, and reaping, pruning vines, and gathering grapes, with some degree of precision.

Although we are not to presume, that nothing more was known by the contemporaries of these writers than appears in their works; yet when we consider, that they were among the best informed people of their age, and reflect upon the intercourse that Greece, Asia Minor, and Judea, had with Egypt, we may well be surprised, that no more astronomical knowledge appears in their long and variegated poems, in which war and peace, navigation, agriculture, and all the arts of life, are treated of at such length.

On the whole it appears, that the people of those times knew, that the sun rose from the ocean, and set in it; but not, that they could account for his return to the east; and had observed his change of place in summer and winter; but not, that they had any idea of his annual course. They could not fail to observe the phases of the moon; but we have no intimation of any attempt to account for them. They had given names to a few of the most conspicuous constellations and stars, and we have no reason to think, that they were acquainted with more. The singular beauty of Venus in the morning and evening, had attracted their notice: but they do not seem to have remarked, that while all the fixed stars keep

their relative situations, there were five of distinguished size and splendour, that were incessantly changing place, and performing a regular tour through the crowd: and that, while the rising and setting of the former determined the seasons of the year, no such conclusion could be drawn from the planets. They carefully observed, when a star emerged from the rays of the sun in the morning, and was immersed in them in the evening; when it rose at sunset, or set at sunrise: but these risings and settings were only apparent, and these observations made without instruments or calculations. In applying their observations to our days, we must bear in mind, that these risings took place about two months earlier than at present.

We cannot say, that all these particulars were unknown; but only, that they are not alluded to in Hesiod, who treats professedly of agriculture and navigation; or Homer, who in his Iliad treats of peace and war, and in his Odyssey embraces the whole circle of geography and navigation, civil and domestic life; or in the Sacred Writings, in which, indeed, few occasions of mentioning astronomical subjects occur. It is observable, that the author of Job is the only writer, who seems to have conceived, that the earth is suspended on its own centre, or who appears to allude to the signs of the Zodiac.

## CHRONOLOGY.

FROM the historical accuracy, which Homer observes in detailing the genealogies of the great families of his time, and some observations of the same kind in Hesiod, Sir I. Newton and others have been able to correct the Chronology of ancient times; but this is only an accidental consequence; for the different portions of time seem to have occupied little of their attention.

The number of generations, that Nestor survived, is mentioned; but no estimate of the length of a generation. We frequently meet with the year, sometimes with the solstices, and several times with months; but there is no mention of hours, that I recollect. The portions of the day are distinguished by the business, with which they were respectively occupied. The dawn indeed occurs frequently: but mid-day\* is described as the time, when the wood-cutter prepares his meal, or when the sun attains the middle of heaven; and the evening is denoted,†

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\* Il. xi. 86.      † Il. xvi. 779.—Od. ix. 56.

by the unyoking of the oxen, or the rising of a judge, to take his supper, after deciding many causes. One line in the Iliad may imply, that the night was divided into three parts or watches; and another, that the day was divided into morning, evening, and mid-day. As to the months, the same distinction seems to have obtained in Homer's day, that was received among the Athenians: viz—the division into decades. Homer, however, does not mention the middle decade: \* Hesiod does. Neither is it expressly said, that these portions consisted of ten days each. He also divides the months into three spaces of nine days; though he speaks of a month as having thirty, without accounting for the remaining three.

To reconcile these inconsistent partitions of the month, we may suppose, that it was divided into three decades, and that the three periods of nine days may have answered some other purpose, like the nundinæ among the Romans, which may have been derived from them. In Hesiod we meet with the first sixth day, the middle sixth, and the middle seventh; signifying, the sixth and seventh of the first and middle divisions respectively: but these may apply either to decades or nundinæ. No day in the concluding period is particularly mentioned. The name of the middle portion does not exactly

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\* Od. xiv. 162. xix. 307.

correspond with the term used by the Athenians, though it has the same meaning: those of the first and second do. We meet with the thirteenth day of the first period, which seems to be inconsistent with both suppositions. This would seem to imply, that the month was sometimes divided into halves; which supposition is countenanced by a passage in Hesiod, and two in Homer, where only the commencing and terminating portions are mentioned. We also meet with the great twentieth, or space of twenty days, and the best twentieth; neither of which phrases has been well explained.

On the thirtieth, there was a judicial assembly of the people; and that was reckoned the most auspicious for inspecting and distributing the work and food of servants; but there is some difference about the interpretation of this passage. The other days of the month he very fancifully and superstitiously assigns to different occupations; in which he has been imitated by Virgil.\*

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\* See *Works and Days*, from line 765 to 828.

## SECTION II.

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## GEOGRAPHY AND NAVIGATION.

As Geography is allied to Astronomy, both in science and use, I shall next endeavour to collect such scattered notices, as occur in Homer and Hesiod, of their knowledge of the earth, with which, we may reasonably hope to find them better acquainted, than with the heavens.

The Catalogue is one of the most important and authentic documents of antiquity; but too well known to warrant a particular examination here. While we are reading this minute description of Greece, illustrated by so many picturesque and appropriate epithets, we can hardly doubt, that the author was personally acquainted with the country, notwithstanding the silence of his biographer. The fidelity of his account is further attested by Strabo, who visited the same places about the beginning of the christian era, and whose work commences with a panegyric on Homer, as a geographer and astronomer; and by several moderns particularly Mr.

Wood, who was surprised at the resemblance, which it still bore to that ancient picture, “not only in the permanent and durable objects, but even in the fading and changeable landscape.”\*

To the north, Homer must have been well acquainted, with the Euxine Sea, though he makes no mention of it; for it was known to the Greeks long before the Argonautic Expedition, which took place thirty-five years before the taking of Troy. To this expedition he could be no stranger, since he alludes to the romantic account of the return of the Argonauts by the island of Circe, Monte Circello, which he calls the *Ææan Island*, or possibly the *Land Island*, or *Peninsula*, as it really is.† He was also acquainted with a tribe of Scythians, whom he calls *Hippomolgi*, or *Mare Milkers*; and *Glauctophagi*, as living on milk, and consequently rich in herds of cattle; though he also says, that they were indigent, probably in the productions of the earth. He sums up their character with this epithet‡—the most equitable of men. In a fragment, preserved by Strabo, Hesiod gives the same character of the *Getæ* and *Scythians*, with the addition of their having no fixed habitation, but using their waggons for houses.§ Thus the *Scythian* and *Tartar* tribes were celebrated at that

\* Wood's Orig. Gen. of Homer. † Od. xi. 70. xii. 3. ‡ Il. xiii. 6.

§ Γλαυκοφαγῶν εἰς αἷς απήναστοικί εχοῦσιν, and again, Αἰθιοπας, Λιβυας τὴδε Σκυθας ιππημολγους.

early period for the same virtues, which are ascribed to them by Justin;\* and for which, I believe, they are distinguished at this day. In his hymn to Bacchus, Homer speaks of a people, still further north, whom he calls *Hyberboreans*, or people living beyond or behind the north-wind, as Pindar, Pliny, and Strabo, interpret it.†

In the catalogue‡ he mentions *Alybè*, as the native place of silver.§ The Scholiast places it in *Bythinia*. Of the inland and eastern countries of Asia, we may suspect Homer to have been ignorant, as he mentions none of them, except the kingdom of *Troy*, which he always distinguishes from *Phrygia*, though *Virgil* confounds them. It was bounded by *Lesbos* and the *Hellespont*, the *Ægean Sea*, and *Phrygia*.|| The *Trojans* and *Phrygians* spoke different languages.¶ He also enumerates the allies of *Priam*; but makes no mention of the great cities of the eastern empires. He often speaks of the *Phenicians*,

\* Lib. ii. 2.

† Λᾶμον Τητεροφεων——

————— χῶρα

Πνοιας οπερεν βορεα——ψυχεον.—Olymp. iii. Stroph. 3.

————— Ultraque aquilonem gens felix, si credimus, quos Hyperboreos appellavere.—Plin. Hist. Nat. iv. 12.

Vide *Strabo*. Lib. xi.—Απαντλας μεν δη, κ. τ. λ.

‡ Il. ii. 857. § Οδεν αργυρου εστι γενεθλη. || Il. xxv. 514.

¶ Hymn to *Venus*, 113.

and is supposed to intend the Arabians by the Erembi. Though Homer makes frequent mention of Phenicia, and particularly Sidon, it is observable, that he never takes notice of Tyre, though so famous as a mart of commerce, and only eighteen miles from Sidon. This is accounted for by Sir Isaac Newton, in the following manner. The Sidonians were in possession of the Mediterranean trade; but the Tyrians, in conjunction with Solomon, and other kings of Judah, chiefly addicted themselves to the commerce of the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulph, in which Strabo\* mentions two islands, called Tyrus and Aradas after Tyre and Arvad, which had temples like the Phenicians. This continued till the revolt of Edom, in the reign of Jehoram, when this lucrative trade was interrupted, and the Tyrians built ships for merchandize on the Mediterranean, and made long voyages to places not frequented by the Sidonians. This revolt he fixes to the fifth year of Pygmalion, about twelve or fifteen years after the taking of Troy, and two years after Dido fled to Africa, and built Carthage.†

In Homer, Sidon is often spoken of, as a city famous for curious manufactures, particularly of women's ware, and ingenious works in metals; and in mentioning these, he accounts for their introduction into Troy,‡ by informing us, that Paris had

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\* I. 16. † Chronology, p. 107. 4to. ‡ Il. vi. 291.

landed at Sidon, on his way from Sparta. As this was not his direct course, his visit to Sidon, and the voyage of Menelaus to Egypt after the war, seem to countenance the story, told by Herodotus, that Helen was never in Troy, but was detained by the king of Egypt, when Paris had occasion to touch there on his voyage from Sparta, and that Menelaus found her and her treasures in Egypt, on his return from Troy.\*

This story, however, is involved in various difficulties, since the embassy of Menelaus and Ulysses, who lodged with Antenor, an enemy to the war, and the intercourse with prisoners and others during a period of ten years, must have disclosed the secret; and then it can hardly be supposed, that the Greeks would continue the war merely for revenge, if they knew where Helen and her riches were lodged; or that the Trojans would have endured a war in their country, and the destruction of their city, for nothing. Herodotus, on the other hand, contends, that the Trojans would not have suffered these calamities for a woman, if it had been in their power to give her up: and least of all, Priam, who was in possession of the throne, and Hector, who was the immediate heir. He insists, that Homer knew the truth, but preferred the story, which he adopted, as being better adapted to the Epopee. This he confirms by three

quotations. The first is that, to which I have now alluded, in which Paris is said to have brought garments curiously wrought from Sidon, when he was conducting Helen to Troy.\* The second is taken from the *Odyssey* ;† where Helen is said to have drugs, which she had received from Polydamna, the Egyptian, wife to Thonis, whom Herodotus mentions as *præfect* of the province, where Paris landed, and as the person who informed king Proteus of his arrival. The third is that passage, in which Menelaus informs Telemachus of his detention in Egypt.‡ To this he adds a circumstantial story told him by the Egyptian priests, which they pretended to have received by tradition from Menelaus himself; from which it would appear, that the asseverations of the Trojans, that they were not possessed of Helen or her treasures, could not divert the Greeks from prosecuting the siege; but that, at last, they found them to be true. He concludes with giving his opinion, that heaven over-ruled these attempts at a reconciliation, that the destruction of Troy might remain a conspicuous memorial of the signal vengeance, which awaits such atrocious deeds.

Although, however, the Sidonians may have been the most eminent merchants in the Mediterranean trade, it is not to be supposed, that the Tyrians were entire strangers to it; and therefore we may reason-

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\* Il. vi. 291. † Od. iv. 228. ‡ Od. iv. 351.

ably conclude, that they were comprehended under the general title of Phenicians. These are described as men famous for navigation,\* furnishing distant countries with toys, ornaments and luxuries,† and at the same time deceitful and avaricious.‡ As these people are said to have extended their navigation into the Atlantic, as far as Britain and Thule, Homer may have received from them his knowledge of Lybia, the western coast of Italy, and the straits of Hercules, which he makes the scene of his traveller's stores, and lying wonders.

His account of Crete may serve as an example of the minuteness and fidelity of his descriptions.§ Its site is in the middle of the sea; its surface beautiful and fertile; its inhabitants innumerable; for it has ninety cities. These, however, speak different tongues; for some are inhabited by Achæans; others by indigenous Cretans; some by the Cydones; others by the Pelasgians; and the remainder by Dorians. These again are divided into three parties. This last observation is a particular instance of accuracy, since colonies of Dorians did actually issue from different parts of Greece, to settle in Rhodes and Crete. In the Iliad, where he enumerates the Grecian forces, he gives a hundred cities to Crete; here but ninety. Some account for this by supposing him

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\* Ναυσικλῆιοι ανδρες. † Αγονίες μυρία θυγατρανή. ‡ Πολυποταλαι—τρεπται. § Od. xix. 172.

to prefer a round number; but others adduce it as an additional proof of exactness; for in the calamities that befel them, after the return of Idomoneus, ten of the hundred cities are said to have been destroyed.\* According to others, Homer, in the Catalogue, speaks of Crete as it was in his own time; and here, as it was when visited by Ulysses.

Before we quit the islands, I must observe, that Homer, in his hymn to Apollo, (15) makes a distinction between Ortygia and Delos, making the former the birth-place of Diana, and the latter of Apollo; which contradicts both the geographer and the mythologist, who pretend, that Latona brought them forth at one birth. In the same hymn he gives a catalogue of above thirty places visited by Apollo; and characterizes most of them by appropriate epithets. Among the rest he mentions the Euripus, and gives a description of Delphi.

Egypt is frequently mentioned in his poems; and in a speech of Achilles he describes the Egyptian Thebes. This country, he says, abounded with drugs and poisonous herbs; and its physicians excelled all others. Notwithstanding these and other encomiums, he calls it bitter Egypt. This epithet is supposed by some to refer to its being a market for slaves, where pirates disposed of their captives. But the principal geographical question relates to

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\* Polymnia, 171.

the situation of Pharos. The Island of Pharos is only a mile from Alexandria, and was at the same distance from the main land, not only in the time of Cæsar, but also when Alexandria was built; yet Homer says, that its distance from Egypt was a day's voyage for a ship with a whistling fair wind. The solution arises from the alluvial soil of the Delta.

The river of Egypt is never named the Nile in Homer, whence some have inferred his priority to Hesiod, who gives it that name. It is said to signify *the river* in the original dialect, as it is styled in Scripture; and this must therefore have been its first appellation. In Homer it is called Egyptus, in the masculine, to distinguish it from the country, through which it flows, which is always feminine. In this passage,\* the word occurs without the article, and may signify either the country or the river; but, in whatever sense the word be taken, the difficulty is nearly the same. In order to solve it, it is assumed in the first place, that the term Egypt is applied only to the cultivated country on each side of the Nile, and that the rest was considered as the desert; and in the second, that the Delta has been gradually formed by the earth deposited by the Nile. On this supposition, Lower Egypt was once a deep bay, which has been gradually filling up with the alluvial soil of the Nile from Cairo, its original mouth, to

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\* Od. iv. 353.

the sea; and there was a period, when Pharos was equidistant from the river, and the land of Egypt; and a day's voyage from both. On this supposition, which is agreeable to the opinion of the ancients,\* the southern angle of the Delta would soon be converted into firm land; because the bay was narrower there, and the water shallower. As the space to be filled became wider and deeper, the process would be retarded: but more or less, according to the nature of the bottom. Where the current was checked by inequalities, the mud would accumulate, and form islands surrounded by channels, into which the stream would divide itself.

This process would continue, though more and more slowly, as long as it was confined by the headlands at Alexandria and Pelusium. While the soft and fluid materials were thus protected from the open sea, they would regularly subside; and where circumstances were favourable, the new land might be protruded somewhat beyond these promontories, especially as the violence of the sea, meeting the current of the river, would have a tendency, while the water was of a moderate depth, to throw up bars and sand banks. This is the actual state of that shore, as described both by Wood and Denon. These bars

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\* Αἰγυπτίου μελαγγαίον τε καὶ κατερργυμένην, ώστε εουσαν ίλιν τε καὶ προχυστίν εξ Αιδιοπῆς κατενηγμένην υπό τοις ποταμοῖς.—Herod. Euterpe.—Vide Plin. ii. 85. Naseuntur enim terræ, &c.

are numerous; and the channels between them are called Bogas, and are extremely boisterous and dangerous. Mr. Wood, in particular, gives a very interesting account of his entrance into the Nile through one of these passages; and, by his description of his dangers, he justifies the formidable idea, which Menelaus formed of his second voyage up the river, after his return from Troy. From the retardation of the process near the sea, Egypt may have been at a considerable distance from Pharos in the time of Homer. Lucan in his Pharsalia mentions the supposed change in the situation of Pharos,\* without attempting to account for it. Homer makes no mention either of the pyramids, or of the overflowing the Nile.

The most remote people to the south\* known to Homer, were the Ethiopians; and of these he gives as favourable an opinion, as he did of the Hippomolgi. Accordingly, in the first book of his Iliad, (423) we find, that Jupiter, attended by all the superior gods, were gone on a visit for twelve days, to the innocent and irreproachable Ethiopians; and the Odyssey, (i. 22) opens with informing us, that Neptune was then enjoying the same society. In this passage, he describes this people as divided into

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\* Tunc claustrum pelagi cepit Pharon. Insula quondam  
In medio stetit ille mari, sub tempore Vatis  
Proteos; at nunc Pellæis proxima muris.—x. 291.

† Od. i. 23.

two parts, the eastern and western: either with reference to the Red sea, or the river Nile; for though he never mentions the Red Sea or Arabian Gulph, he can hardly be supposed to have been ignorant of it.

Let us now leave Africa, and passing the shores of Greece as well known, omitting also for the present the interesting journey of Telemachus by land from Pylos to Sparta, let us inquire, how far the sea between Greece and Italy was known to Homer. Here we find the Taphians, inhabitants of one of the Teleboan islands, next to Ithaca, infamous for piracy and manstealing. But the most minute description is given of Ithaca; and, as it is founded on permanent features, its accuracy has been recently put to the test.\* As to its geographical situation, he says, it has islands on different sides of it very near each other, Dulichium, Samè, and the woody Zacynthus, all toward the eastern side of Ithaca, which lies far to the west.† As to its surface, it has one woody and very lofty mountain called Neritus, and perhaps, another called Neius.‡ It is rough and rocky, not spread into plains, nor adapted for exercising horses, nor for breeding them; nor yet is it barren, but very fruitful in a handsome race of men; producing plenty of wheat, blessed with

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\* Od. ix. 20. † Πανυπεζατη—προς ζεφον.—See Clarke's Note on Od. ix. 25. ‡ Od. iii. 81.

fine weather, frequent showers, and fructifying dews; fit for goats, and black or horned cattle; but deficient in meadow ground, even more so than other islands.\* It lies well to the setting sun. The town was situated under Neius; and near the grotto of Phorcys.

The Topography of this island was found by Gell and Dodwell, on their late visit, to correspond with Homer's description; particularly the harbour, with its rocky, projecting shores, and the stillness of the water within the port; and the neighbouring grotto, sacred to the Nymphs, Nēiades, so called, perhaps, from the mountain Nēion, or Hyponēion, in the vicinity. They also found the rock Korax, still denominated Koraka, and the adjoining fountain, Arethusā.†

The farm of Laertes lay near the town, and on lower ground. The island itself was low; and Strabo says, it was only eighty stadia, or ten miles round; but, according to Dodwell, it is seventeen miles long from north to south, and four broad, which nearly agrees with Pliny's measurement. The particulars, mentioned by Homer, are now all familiar to the natives of Theaki; and these situations are freely pointed out to travellers; yet there is reason to suspect, that here, as in other places, the people of the country are more indebted to strangers,

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\* Od. iv. 608.    † Od. xiii. 95, and 408.

than they to the natives; and that, before the recent visits of the learned and curious to the Ionian Isles, their inhabitants were ignorant of many particulars, upon which they have now learned to value themselves, and with which, they affect to have been always well acquainted. Thus travellers may be misled by the revival of ancient names. The island, however, still produces vines, and exports wine: and affords browsing for goats and sheep, but no pasture for horses. It is also a rough and mountainous tract, yet may be said to lie low, compared with Cephalonia. But most of these circumstances are of such frequent occurrence, that they are not sufficiently characteristic to ascertain the identity of Theaki and Ithaca. Neither, on the other hand, is there sufficient reason to question it; if we grant, that Strabo may have been mistaken as to the circuit of the island, which agrees better with Iotaco, an island that some have thought to be the real Ithaca.

A similar doubt exists with respect to Dulichium. Homer describes it as abounding with corn, and as one of the many islands, which lay near Ithaca to the east. He classes it with the Echinades, and says, that it furnished forty ships for the Trojan Expedition. Strabo also calls it one of the Echinades. When Homer says, that Dulichium, Samè, or Cephalonia, Zacynthus, and other islands, lay round Ithaca to the east, he must be understood with some allowance; for, if they were all to the east, they could not be on different sides of Ithaca; and

there is no doubt, that Samè lay to the west. Admitting this, Strabo is consistent in saying, that the ruins of the town of Samè, which is on the eastern side of Cephalonia, are in the middle of the channel between that island and Ithaca; meaning of course, half way between the northern and the southern entrance of the channel. This ambiguity, I suppose, gave rise to the mistake of some, who thought that Strabo spoke of an island between Cephalonia and Ithaca, and called it Dulichium, which could not be the case, according to Homer or Strabo: for though, in fact, there is such an island, called Asteris by Homer,\* it must lie to the west of Ithaca, while Dulichium lay to the east.† Strabo adds, that some did not scruple to say, that Cephalonia was the same with Dulichium: others, with Taphus; which, at least, shows the uncertainty of this question even in Strabo's time. D'Anville says, that a channel separates Cephalonia from little Cephalonia; which in its proper name of Theaki, seems to represent Ithaca: and that it would be absurd to confine the name of Ithaca to a holme, that lies before Theaki, since that bears the name of Iotaco; and we see in Homer, that Ulysses commanded the Cephalonians. On the whole, I suppose, Dulichium is the modern Iotaco, and Iotaco the same with the Protè of Pomponius Mela. In Ithaca or

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\* Od. iv. 846. † Od. ix. 25.†

Theaki are still some remains of an Acropolis, and other Cyclopean walls, as in Argos, Mycenæ, and Tyrrinthus. It affords no pasture for horses; and in other respects corresponds with Homer's description.

Before we pass over to Italy, it may be proper to mention, that the epithets bestowed on Olympus, agree with the modern description of that mountain; and that Homer speaks of the Phlegyans in a manner, that may assist critics in explaining that doubtful passage in Virgil.\* So far every thing is correct; but here begins the region of fable. Even Corcyra, the Scheria and Phæacia of Homer is tinged with fiction. It does not appear, that Homer's knowledge of geography extended to the Adriatic or Ionian Gulph, except we admit his mention of the Eridanus, in the battle of the frogs and mice, to be a proof to the contrary. Some suppose it to be another name for the Nile: but this cannot be the case in Hesiod, for he couples them in the same line.† He makes no mention of Diomede's settlement in Daunia, nor Antenor's at Patavium; neither does he mention the

\* *Aeneid* vi. 618.—See Hymn to Apollo, 278.

Ιχθες δέ ες φλεγυνων ανδρων πολιν νερισταων,  
Οι Διος ουκ αλεγοντες επι χθονι ναιειασσον,  
Εν καλη βησση, Κηφισσιδος εγγυδι λιμνης.

† Νειλον τ' Αλφειον και Ηριδανον βαθυδινην.

Theog. 338.

tides in this sea, nor the more extraordinary flux and reflux of the Euripus, though Aulis was in that strait. Hesiod takes notice of several rivers, which do not occur in Homer, particularly the Ister and the Phasis.

In tracing the geographical knowledge of Homer to the west of Greece, we have only to follow the wanderings of Ulysses on his return from Troy. He first had a rencounter with the Cicones, a people of Thrace; and having sailed along the whole eastern coast of Greece, he was drawn to the island of the Lotophagi, on the coast of Africa, near the Syrtes. Having escaped the allurements of that infatuating country, he fell in with the southern coast of Sicily. Of this island he gives a minute description, well corresponding with the character it has always maintained for fertility.\* From Sicily he sailed to the Liparean islands, under the dominion of *Æolus*: thence he made the coast of Italy, where he first encountered the Læstrigones, a race of Cannibals, who had come from Sicily, and occupied the country, where Formiæ was afterwards built. He next touched at the Circean promontory; and after staying there a year, he prosecuted his voyage to the country of the Cimmerians, on the coast of Baiæ.

He then took the Sirens in his way, and passed

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\* Od. ix. 131.

the straits of Scylla and Charybdis, or the Faro of Messina; and being afterwards shipwrecked, he was thrown on Ogygia, the island of Calypso, in the Scyl-lacean Bay; whence he proceeded to Corcyra or Corfu, where he was furnished with a ship, which landed him in Ithaca. The silence of Homer tends to confirm the opinion, that the eruptions of Etna and Vesuvius had ceased, or had not commenced before his time.

I neither pretend to account for every thing in this tour; nor do I apprehend, that Homer betrays any want of geographical knowledge; but having got his hero beyond the boundaries of ordinary voyages, and into regions, of which the Phenician mariners were in the habit of telling strange stories, he makes a very poetical use of their tales, and of the peculiar nature of these volcanic regions: yet in his wildest fancies, both here and elsewhere, there is a ground-work of truth, as in the formidable pass between Italy and Sicily; the *deceptione visus* in the apparent clashing of the rocks in a winding channel; the gusts of wind, and flashes of fire issuing from the clefts and vents in that volcanic country; the knowledge of the winds, which *Æolus* acquired in the neighbourhood of smoking and burning mountains; the arts of lewd women, the Sirens, to decoy mariners into their toils; human sacrifices, and Cannibals; the gloomy mansions of the Cimmerian miners; the pestilential Avernus; Acheron and Styx; the pas-

sage to the infernal regions, and the ceremonies used there, copied from Egyptian rites.\*

Let us now take a brief view of the return of Me-nelaus. A difference having arisen between him and his brother, he, with Nestor, Ulysses, Diomede, and some others, set sail for Tenedos, whence Ulysses, to pay court to Agamemnon, returned. Nestor and Diomede sailed for Lesbos, where they were joined

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\* The following passages occur in epistles of Seneca to Marcia and Lucullus:—*Charybdim, quam diu ab austro vacat, quietam; at si quis inde ventus spiravit, hoatu magni profundoque navigia sorbentem.*—Ad Marciam.

*Fae nos certiores, utrum uno tantum vento agatur in vortices, an omnis tempestas mare illud contorqueat.*—Ad Lucullum.

According to recent observations, Scylla is two hundred feet high, (Od. xii. 84.) and undermined by cavities, (80) in which the waves make the same noise with the barking of dogs. (85) From the strength and winding course of the current, the double danger exists—“*Incidit in Seyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.*” Although the passage is probably widened, and the rocks worn away, the passage is still extremely dangerous. The tide flows regularly, according to the moon. At high water you may sail over Charybdis: at other times there is a violent commotion throughout the space of a hundred feet: but not in the form of a vortex, except when the wind and tide are contrary. In this case, vessels are frequently lost. The eddy is strongest with a south wind.

Compare Od. xii. 104, 235, 425, and Pococke V. ii. part ii. 198, 200.

The word *Θειναξην*, Trinacria, shows that Homer knew the shape of Sicily.

by Menelaus. A question then arose, whether they should leave Chios and Psyra on the left, and cross the open sea to Eubœa and Greece; or pass through the straits of Mimas between the main and Chios, and so make a circuitous voyage from island to island, among the Sporades and Cyclades. The same question was agitated when Mr. Wood made that voyage; for the sailors of that coast still follow the same cautious course, that was practised in Homer's time—“Sailing in undecked vessels, they venture as little as possible out of the sight of land, run along the shore, and are ready to put in, and draw up their vessels on the beach, if there is no port, on the first appearance of foul weather.” These heroes, however, ventured upon the shorter course, and had a prosperous voyage of four days in all; and Mr. Wood found the distance and every other circumstance to correspond exactly with Homer. At the promontory of Sunium, Menelaus parted company, and when he was about to double the dangerous headland of Malea, he was driven by a storm toward Crete, some ships being stranded at Phæstum; and Menelaus himself continued his voyage to Cyprus, Phenicia, and Egypt, where he was detained for some time in Pharos. After visiting the mouth of the Nile, a fair wind carried him home. In the course of this navigation, Menelaus pretended to have also visited Lybia, Arabia, and Ethiopia. While in Pharos he was informed by Proteus—“That it was not his fate to die in Greece; but that the gods would

send him to the Elysian Plain, and the extremities of the earth; where the yellow Rhadamanthus lives; and where mankind enjoy the easiest mode of life; where there is not much snow, nor wintry storms, nor rain; but the ocean continually sends whispering gales of the zephyr to refresh men; because he was the husband of Helen, and the son-in-law of Jupiter.”

As this is a remarkable passage, I have translated it literally, and shall add a similar one from Hesiod.\* “To these heroes of the Trojan age Jupiter having allotted plenty and ease, planted them at the extremities of the earth, separate from men, and far from the immortals. Of these Saturn is king; and free from care, they live in the islands of the blessed, near the deep ocean. Happy heroes! for them the bountiful earth produces delicious fruit thrice every year.”

These passages have given rise to a variety of criticisms; but the only question before us is—Where were this Elysian Plain, and the happy islands situated? Some suppose, that they were the fortunate, or western isles. It is more probable, that this happy country was Tartessus, an island formed by the river Bætis or Guadalquivir at its mouth; the Tarshish of the Scriptures, pronounced Tartish by the Phenicians, and Tartessus by the Greeks, close to Cadiz; and that it comprehended the delightful plains

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\* Works and Days, 168.

of Andalusia. But Bruce fixes the Tarshish of Solomon on the eastern coast of Africa.\* Bochart places it at the promontory of Cory, in Ceylon. Homer's knowledge of these countries must have been derived from the Phenicians; and it is generally supposed, that the passage in Hesiod is an imitation of Homer; which is the more likely, because Hesiod, living in Boeotia, had no such opportunities of information as he.

It remains, to ascertain what Homer understood by the Ocean. Notwithstanding the frequent mention of the ocean in Homer, it is not easy to decide what he intended by that word. To me it appears, that he conceived, that the ocean encompassed the whole earth, and partook of the nature of a river; that it was the source of all other waters, and perhaps affected by tides. That he supposed the ocean to encircle the earth, may be presumed from those passages, in which he speaks of its bordering on the country of the Ethiopians, and on the Cimmerians; from others, in which he speaks of the sun, moon, and stars setting in the ocean, and rising out of it; consequently in various latitudes; and from his describing the ocean as being at the extremities of the earth.† This supposition is also confirmed by its surrounding the various pictures of the world on the shield of Achilles. Hesiod also speaks of the ocean,‡

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\* See 2 Chron. ix. 21: xx. 36, 37, and 1 Kings ix. 26, 27,

28. † Hymn to Venus, 238—to the moon, 7.—Il. and Od. passim. ‡ Works and Days, 168.

as being at the extremity of the earth, when he describes the happy isles. Its derivation from *Og*, a Phenician word, signifying a boundary, agrees with its surrounding the earth. The decided manner, in which Homer speaks of the ocean, as the place of the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies, is certainly very extraordinary, considering the time and place, in which he lived. As his place of abode was so remote from every part of the ocean, and there was no direct navigation to the east, he could have derived his knowledge only from the Phenicians; and it gives a high idea of that enterprising people, that they should be able to communicate it.

That Homer considered the ocean, as partaking of the nature of a river, is evident, for in more places than one he expressly calls it a river: thus the wave of the stream carried the ship of Ulysses along the river ocean.\* Again, it left the stream of the river ocean, and then arrived at the navigable sea.† From such passages as these, however, some of the ancients understood the term, river, to be applied only to a gulph, bay, or inlet of the ocean. Before Ulysses had left the Shades, his mother expressed her surprise, that he could have arrived there, when he had to pass so many rivers and tremendous streams, and above all, the ocean.‡ At a general assembly of the gods, it is said, that none of the rivers were

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\* Od. xi. 638. † Od. xii. 1. ‡ Od. xi. 156.

absent, except the ocean, or Oceanus; and the Greek Scholiast says, the ocean is a river, according to Homer. With this also the epithets of the ocean are perfectly consistent; for though in one place he calls it a beautiful lake at sunrise, this only implies the smoothness of the surface. Thus he speaks of its currents and streams, and its vast strength. He sometimes describes it as having a deep and smooth stream. Penelope prays to be cast into the mouths of the *refluent* ocean, which some interpret of the tides.\* In one passage, ocean is styled not only a river, but the origin of all rivers, fountains, wells, and of the sea itself.†

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\* Il. xx. 7.—Il. iii. 5.—Od. xix. 434.—Od. xx. 65. † Il. xxi. 196.

## NAVIGATION.

HAVING already had occasion to mention the principal voyages performed in the age, of which I am treating, I shall now confine myself, in a great measure, to the mechanical part of navigation. Of course the first subject, that presents itself, is the structure of the ships; and of this we have a pretty distinct account in the fifth book of the *Odyssey*. (234, &c.)

In order to effect his departure from the island of Calypso, it was necessary for Ulysses to construct a vessel, sufficiently strong for a voyage of twenty days to the island of Corcyra, and light enough to be managed by a single hand. For this purpose the goddess furnished him with a double edged axe\* with a handle of olive,† an adze or chipping axe,‡ gimblets or augres, and nails,§ and afterwards with cloth for sails.|| With these tools and materials Ulysses went to work, and on the fourth day was ready for sea. The timber which he employed was alder, poplar, and fir.¶ They are represented as dry,

\* Πελεκυν αμφοτερων ακαγγιενον. † Ελαινον. ‡ Σκεπαρνον.

§ Τερεζα, γοινφων. || Φαρεα. ¶ Κληθρη, αγερα, ελαιη.

withered perhaps, or blasted. After cutting down twenty trees, he squared them with the hatchet. There is no mention of a saw in Homer. He then planed them with his adze, I suppose, tried them by a rule or coloured line;\* and fastened the timbers together with trenails or wooden pegs,† and joints or mortices.‡ Having thus formed a broad bottomed hull,§ he laid the deck,|| and supported it with the ribs;¶ and completed the lower works by enclosing the whole with long planks.\*

The keel is not mentioned, the vessel being flat-bottomed. He next proceeded to erect the mast, made of fir, and the sail yard: after which he hung the rudder, for Homer's ships have but one; and enclosed the gunwale with hurdles of osier to keep off the waves,† and then threw in a quantity of ballast.

\* Σταθμη. † Γομφους. ‡ Αρμοναι. § Εδαφος. || Ιχεια πρωξης, ιχεια πρωξης. ¶ Σταθμινεσσι. \* Επηγχενιδες.

† Φραξε δε μιν ειπεσσι διαμπερες οικυινησι,

Κυματος ειλαρ εμεν, πολλην δεπεχευασιο υλην.

Od. v. 256.

\* This is a passage of doubtful interpretation. Damm says, rem ipsam peritis rei nauticæ relinquimus. Pope and Goguet understand it of the rudder; Clarke of the raft. Perhaps these osier twigs were for caulking, or for sewing the planks together, as was usual, though not mentioned here; (*σπαρτα λελυθαι*, Il. ii. 135.) but I prefer the explanation quoted by Damm: καλαμωη, ο εκαλεωθεν περι τα χειλητων πλοιων φραγμος; especially as nothing else is want-

Having made the sails, he added braces,\* to keep the yard steady, ropes to raise and lower the yard,† and sheet ropes to make the sail fast below.‡ Lastly, he forced his vessel into the sea with handspikes. Although sails are mentioned in the plural, I suppose he could have but one, as there was but one sail yard, and one navigator; things complicated, or consisting of parts, being often expressed in the plural, in the ancient languages.

Next day, Calypso supplied him with a skin of red wine, and a larger one of water, and some delicate provisions for sea store, in a bag. The sea store of Telemachus for a voyage from Ithaca to Pylos, consisted of twelve two-eared jars of his best wine,§ well stopped;|| and twenty measures of flour, in bags of leather, carefully sewed.¶ Calypso also

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ing. It was the more necessary to secure the gunwale against the waves, because the sailors slept on the deck.

“Many of their cables, (Egyptians, at Alexandria) being made of a kind of grass, called spartum, could not bear the stress of the vessels, or agitation of the sea.”—Bruce’s Travels, vol. i. p. 9.

“The planks of the vessels were sewed together, and there was not a nail, nor a piece of iron in the whole ship [on the Red Sea.]”—p. 212.

“Those sewed together, and yielding without damage to the stress, slide over the banks of white coral, and even sometimes the rocks.”—p. 218.

The Cingalese also sew the planks of their boats.

\* Τπερας. † Καλους. ‡ Ποδας. § Αιφιφορευσι.

|| Πωμασι. ¶ Od. ii. 354.

furnished Ulysses with a propitious gale;\* and he parted from the shore, sitting at the helm, and watching the Pleiades, the late setting Bootes, the Bear and Orion, which Calypso desired him to keep on his left hand.

On the eighteenth day of his voyage, however, a violent storm tore the rudder from his hand, broke his mast in two, and flung himself into the sea.† This accident leaves us at a loss for the manner, in which he would have managed and disposed of his ship, had he landed. We must, therefore, look for a more prosperous voyage to be informed of these particulars. Agamemnon having launched a vessel,‡ and supplied it with twenty rowers, and a sacrifice, despatched Ulysses to appease Apollo. When they entered the bay of Chrysa, they took down the sails,§ and stowed them on the deck, or in the hold. They then let down the mast by the ropes|| that kept it steady, and laid it in its place.¶ These ropes were made of ox hides.\*

\* In the second Iliad, Homer mentions three winds, Eurus, Notus, and Zephyrus, and again Eurus and Notus: in the nineteenth he speaks of Eurus melting the snow, which Zephyrus had showered on the mountains. In the fifth he adds Boreas to the number. In the same book they all conspire against Ulysses: Notus blows him against Boreas, and Eurus gives him over to Zephyrus: these four cardinal winds are, I believe, the only ones mentioned in Homer, and of course, it is supposed, the only winds for which he had names.

† Od. xii. 409. ‡ Il. i. 310—430—480: vide Pope. § Ιστια. || Προσθόντος. ¶ Ιστοδοκη. \* Od. ii. 426: xv. 291.

The vessel they forced into the dock with oars, cast their anchors,\* and made the ship fast to the land with cables,† which were sometimes passed through a perforation in a rock.‡ After executing their commission, they again raised the mast, and expanded their white sails. Having a brisk wind, the purple wave roared on each side of the prow as the vessel proceeded; and when they had finished their voyage, they drew her up high on the shore, and supported her with props.§ The ship fitted out by Alcinous also had twenty rowers, and both sails and oars. The mast and sails seem to have been taken on shore, when the vessel was laid up. The oars were fastened with straps to the benches when not in use.|| In the harbour and arsenal of Alcinous each vessel had a dock.¶

In one of the storms that Ulysses encountered, the ropes,\* which kept the mast in its place gave way, the mast came by the board, threw the implements of the sailors into the well, and killed the pilot. At the same time, several of the men were washed overboard, and the sides were torn from the keel.† The mast was broken at the keel, and Ulysses having fastened them together with a rope of leather for a raft, escaped.‡ When Telemachus was

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\* Ευναι. † Πεισμαλα. ‡ Od. xiii. 77. § Il. i. 485. || Od. viii. 37—53—782. ¶ Od. vi. 265. \* Προλογ. † Τροπις. ‡ Od. xii. 420.

setting out on a voyage, the mast, which was of fir, was first placed in the socket,\* then made fast by the side ropes, and lastly, the sail was drawn up with ropes of ox hides.† When Ulysses was leaving Corcyra‡, Alcinous carefully stowed the presents under the benches, that they might not be in the way of the rowers. A bed was made for Ulysses on the deck. Some of their ships carried a hundred and twenty men, others only fifty; some of them were ships of war; others, of burden.§ The latter had sometimes twenty oars, the former above fifty; yet there is no mention of more than one tier. I cannot recollect, that any of them had more than one mast, nor is there any mention of a bowsprit. The heads of some of them were painted with vermillion,|| others were purple or black, and had distinguishing ornaments.¶

Though Hesiod confesses, that he was ignorant of ships and navigation, and never sailed further than to Eubœa, he undertakes to give his brother, for whose understanding as well as morals, he had a sovereign contempt, some advice on this head as well as others. He points out two seasons for sailing;\* the first in spring, when the leaves of the fig-tree are so far unfolded as to be seen at a little distance. But

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\* Μεσοδυη. † Od. xv. 285. ‡ Od. xiii. 21. § Θαριδες.—Od. ix. 322. || Il. ii. 637. ¶ Il. i. 241.—Κορυμα. \* Works and Days, 618.

he does not approve of this season. He rather considers navigation at that time as a desperate attempt of miserable men, whose life and soul is gain; and, at all events, exhorts his brother not to embark all his substance in one bottom.

The only safe time for going to sea, he thinks, is fifty days after the summer solstice, which, in his time, was earlier than now. At this season, he says, there is little danger, except Neptune and Jupiter intentionally raise a storm. He must not, however, wait for a cargo of new wine, for fear of the autumnal rains, and the approach of winter. He must, in all cases, have his ship drawn up on land before the Pleiades, flying from the fury of Orion, fall into the dark sea. Although he advises his brother to praise a small ship, but freight a large one, a maxim which Virgil borrows for the farmer,\* yet here he gives us but a mean idea of his vessels; for they are to be drawn up on land, and surrounded with stones, that they may not be injured by the wind. He also desires, that the plug in the well should be pulled out, lest the rain should rot the bottom; from which it would appear, that they were not whole decked. The furniture of the ship is to be stowed in the house, the sails being carefully rolled up, and the rudder hung over the fire-place. With respect to harbours, they were sensible of the advantage of having more entrances than one.†

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\* Georg. ii. 412. † Od. iv. 846.—Λιμενες αμφιοικοι.

There is no mention of sea-fights in Homer or Hesiod, though Achilles and Ulysses took many cities by means of their ships; and in defending the fleet from the Trojans, the Greeks used spears twenty-two cubits long, made for attacking and defending ships \* The objects of their expeditions by sea were piracy and commerce; for, except the Trojan war, there were none, at that early period, that required the transportation of troops, the two Theban wars being confined to Greece. The Argonautic Expedition partook of both characters. As to plundering and piratical excursions, they seem to have been the principal employment of their heroes; but I shall confine myself to Homer.

When Polyphemus found Ulysses and his companions in his cave, his first question was, whether they were for trade or plunder.† In one of the fabulous stories, that Ulysses tells of himself, he says, that he was a Cretan; and, like other men, followed the propensity with which the deity inspired him.‡ He had, accordingly, undertaken nine enterprizes by sea against foreign lands; and, out of the plunder, had selected what pleased him, beside the share that fell to him by lot. One object of plunder was slaves. Thus in the story, that Eumæus tells of himself, he introduces a woman who had been stolen by the Taphians, and sold to his father.§ She again,

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\* Il. xv. 338—687. † Od. ix. 252: iii. 70. ‡ Od. xiv. 227. § Od. xv. 425.

being beguiled by some Phenician merchants, kidnapped Eumæus. This woman was killed by falling down the hatchway into the well of the ship, on her passage, and was thrown overboard to the seals and fishes. Eumæus was sold to Laertes. A beautiful female slave was equal in value to twenty oxen.\* The Taphians, who inhabited one of the Echinades, were the greatest pirates of those days.† In the first book of the *Odyssey*, (184) Minerva pretends to be king of the Taphians, and to be on a voyage to Temesè, either of Cyprus or Italy, with a cargo of bright iron to barter for brass.

The merchant, supercargo and captain were, in those days, commonly the same; and not held in much repute by soldiers, or men of pleasure.‡ One of the court of Alcinous insulting Ulysses, says, that he must be some captain of a ship, commander of a trading crew, whose thoughts were occupied about his cargo, and inspecting his sea store, or counting his rapacious gains; quite below the notice of a wrestler, as *he* was. During the siege of Troy,§ ships arrived, bringing wine from Lemnos to the Grecian camp. They first sent one thousand measures as a present or duty to Agamemnon, the commander-in-chief, and then exposed their cargoes for sale to the officers and soldiers, who purchased their wine with brass and polished iron, hides, oxen and slaves. They also imported wine from Thrace, in which coun-

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\* Od. i. 431. † Od. xvi. 426. ‡ Od. viii. 160. § Il. vii. 471.

try, it is thought, the Byblian wine of Hesiod was produced.\*

From this passage it appears, that they had measures for liquids; and from others, that they knew the use of the balance, as where Jupiter is represented weighing the fates of the Greeks and Trojans.† But whether they had coined money or not, is a question not so easily resolved. It is said,‡ that Glaucus exchanged his golden armour for the brazen armour of Diomede; the one worth a hundred oxen; the other, nine; supposing the workmanship to be equal. Hence it would appear, that the proportion in value between gold and brass was only eleven to one: but by oxen are we to understand an animal, or a coin stamped with the figure of the animal, or a standard of value taken from an article of general consumption? A similar question arises with respect to talents.§ The word first signified a balance or pair of scales; and afterwards a quantity of gold of a certain weight; for it is not applied in Homer to any other metal. It does not appear to have been a coin, but a sum; nor is the value of it easily ascertained. Ten talents formed part of the present offered to Achilles by Agamemnon; and two, the fee to the judge, whose decision was thought most just. The third competitor in the

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\* Il. ix. 71.—Works and Days, 589. + Il. viii. 69: xlv. 433.

‡ Il. vi. 236. § Il. ix. 122—264: xviii. 507: xxiii. 269.

chariot race' received as a prize, only a brazen caldron, containing four measures; and yet the fourth was rewarded with two talents of gold. In the foot race, the second obtained a fat bull or ox; the third, half a talent of gold.\* From these circumstances, the value of gold compared with brass and cattle appears to have been very low. No small coins are mentioned in Homer or Hesiod.

We have hardly any data with respect to their power of counting. One phrase seems to allude to the origin of arithmetic. When Proteus is said to count his flock, a word is used, implying, that he counted them by fives;† which intimates, that the fingers were the first instruments in calculation, and helps to arithmetic;‡ but no conclusion can be drawn from this to the practice of Homer's time: for as, on the one hand, he is careful not to ascribe any practice to the times of the Trojan war, which had originated at a later period, such as trumpets and horse-riding; so, many of his words had their origin in usages, which had then ceased. Thus an artist in iron and other metals, even in gold, is called a brazier, because brass was the metal first in

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\* Il. xxiii. 750. † Πεμπασσεῖαι.—Od. iv. 412.

‡ There are many tribes in Africa, that count by quints, as we do by decades, giving a different name to each quint, after the first, as we do after the decades, and adding the same units. Others count by tens, employing, I suppose, the fingers of both hands.

use, iron not being employed till one generation before the Theban war, according to Hesiod. Thus too he describes horses as driven by goads, though whips only were used in war. In like manner, he describes a helmet, though made of brass,\* by words, implying, that they consisted of the skins of ferrets, dogs and cats, as we say a french-horn, though the instrument is composed of brass.

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\* *Κλιδεην, χυνεην, γαλεην.*

SECTION III.

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## AGRICULTURE.

WHEN we descend to the descriptions of the common affairs of life to be found in these ancient poets, we are naturally led to inquire, whence arises the pleasure, with which we read accounts of the most trifling and vulgar incidents; and how does it come to pass, that even filthy and indelicate circumstances excite so little disgust or emotion?

In answer to this question, it may be observed, in the first place, that the words, by which these ideas are expressed, are not of vulgar or mean sound; and that, not being in common use, they have not been associated by us with obscure or filthy images. This difference in the choice of words we are sensible of in our own tongue; but still, a description of a mean or trifling subject in pompous, high-sounding verse, would be condemned as bombast, if not meant for parody. Secondly; our curiosity is gratified by a minute detail of ancient manners. Thirdly; the gradual progress of the description produces

a picturesque effect. We think we see the action passing before us.

We may prove these observations by two examples connected with our subject. In the first, Homer describes a pig-stye\* in as well sounding language, and with more minuteness, than he had employed in celebrating the garden of Alcinous: and in the second, he kills a hog for Ulysses' dinner, with more circumstances than occur in his most circumstantial accounts of a sacrifice or feast, for his fondness for which he has been so much ridiculed: yet I do not believe, that any one was ever disgusted with these passages, or even read them in the original, without some degree of pleasure.

The pig-stye was in a high situation; separate from other buildings, with a passage all round. It was built of large stones, and surrounded with a prickly hedge. At the outside of the fence, Eumæus had driven into the ground many thick stakes of black oak cleft. Within the enclosure were twelve sties, each containing fifty breeding swine: the boars slept at the outside, three hundred and sixty in number, the best of which were always sent to the suitors of Penelope. It does not add to our idea of the cleanliness of this assemblage to be told, that Eumæus had only four servants to assist him in taking care of them, and to do the other business of his

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\* Od. xiv. 5, &c.

house. He himself was employed in making his own shoes, when he was roused by his dogs, which had attacked Ulysses, who prudently sat down, and dropped his staff to appease their fury. In the mean time, Eumæus threw away the leather, pelted his dogs with stones, and rescued his unknown master. Nothing, I think, but a foreign language, and our curiosity to read of ancient manners, can prevent us from being disgusted, or at least disappointed, at such a recital. The same circumstances, added to a certain picturesque effect, produced on the imagination, make us read the account of Eumæus's hospitality with pleasure.

We are told\* that the hog, he killed, was five years old; which, I suppose, was reckoned the best age. We see him bringing it near the hearth, clipping the hair off the head, and throwing it into the fire, with a prayer for his master's return. He then stuns it with a piece of oak, which remained after the rest had been cleft for fire-wood. Having cut his throat, he singed and cut him up. He then lays pieces of flesh on the fat, which was laid on the fire, and sprinkled them with flour. He next divides the remainder, and fixes the pieces on spits of five prongs, like our toasting forks, sometimes wooden as appears by the Hymn to Mercury, 116. When they were roasted, he placed them all on the kitchen

table. He then divides them into seven shares; one for the Nymphs and one for Mercury, which were set apart with prayer; five he lays off for himself and his four servants; and with the whole chine he honoured the stranger.

I shall now proceed to their system of agriculture. As to their mode of acquiring land, I have not found, that it was either purchased or rented. There are only two modes of conveyance mentioned. I. Inheritance, in which case the children divided the property either by agreement or lot.\* Hesiod reproaches his brother, that, after they had divided the inheritance, Perses had possessed himself of more than his share, in consequence of flattering the corrupt judges,† who tried the cause. Ulysses, in one of his fabulous accounts of himself, says, that his legitimate brothers divided the estate by lot, and made a present to him, who was illegitimate.‡ Hence inheritance is expressed by allotment.§ II. The second mode that occurs, is by public grants. Glaucus reminds Sarpedon,|| that as kings,¶ or chiefs of the Lycians, they enjoyed not only precedence, and sumptuous entertainments, but in particular, a portion or section of land,\* on the banks of the Xanthus, consisting of vineyards and arable

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\* Il. xx. 391.—τεμενος παλεωιον. Works and Days, 37.—  
χληρον εδασσαμενον. † Βασιληας. ‡ Odys. xiv. 209. § Κλη-  
ρονομια. || Il. xii. 313. ¶ Βασιλεις. \* Τεμενος.

ground, a kind of royal demesne. The same Glau-  
cūs informs us in another place,\* that, in conse-  
quence of Bellerophon's services, in killing the  
chimæra, the king of Lycia bestowed on him one-  
half of the royal honour; and the people of Lycia  
allotted him a district of land similar to the last.†  
This exactly resembles those instances, so frequent  
in our history, in which the king bestows a title for  
distinguished merit, and the representatives of the  
people an estate, or other permanent support. In like  
manner, Achilles asks Eneas,‡ whether he expected,  
that the Trojans would grant him a tract of land su-  
perior to the rest,§ for killing him: and the elders  
of the Etolians,|| not Æneus the king, offered Mele-  
ager fifty acres, if he would assist them in their dis-  
tress. Peleus, on the contrary, being a despotic  
prince, assigned Phœnix a territory by his own au-  
thority; and Agamemnon offered a number of cities  
to Achilles,¶ as a portion with his daughter.

These lands or farms were tilled, for the most part,  
by free labourers,\* for food, hire and clothes; some-  
times by slaves.† Hesiod is very particular in the  
description of his ploughman. He was to be a stout  
man, forty years old, well fed on griddle bread, who

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\* Il. vi. 190. † Τεμενος. ‡ Il. xx. 184. § Τεμενος. || Il.  
ix. 574. ¶ Il. ix. 291. \* Od. xviii. 356, &c.—Θητες. † Od.  
xxiv. 256: xvii. 299.—δημωες.

would attend to his work, and make a straight furrow; not looking about after his acquaintances, but keeping his mind fixed on his business. The sower should not be younger, that he may scatter the seed, and not sow the same spot twice; for a younger man is always longing for company.\*

The implements of husbandry are mentioned by Hesiod, so far as they consisted of wood, in that passage† where he desires the farmer to fell his timber at that season, when it is dead. They were, first, a mortar of wood three feet high,‡ and a pestle three cubits long,§ for bruising their corn; an axle-tree for a cart,|| seven feet long; a mallet of eight feet;¶ I suppose in the handle: the rim of a wheel of three spans,\* for a carriage of ten palms;† I suppose in height. He next advises him to provide two ploughs, the complex and the simple.‡ The parts of the complex were, first, a block of oak, which formed the share; second, the handle, a bent piece of timber, of ilex, holm oak, or holly, made fast to that by nails or wooden pegs:§ third, the beam,|| or pole, of laurel, bay, or elm, which passed between the oxen, fastened to the first mentioned part.¶ The

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\* Works and Days, 441. † Works and Days, 420. ‡ Ολυμος.—Il. xi. 147. § Τπερον. || Αξων. ¶ Σφυρα. \* Λψιτρισπιθαμος. † Δεκαδωρον. ‡ Πηκτον: αυλογυνον.—Il. x. 353: xiii. 703. Od. xiii. 32. § Δρυος, ελυμα, πρινον, γυην.—Works and Days, 436. || Ιστοθοευς, ενδρουν, 469. ¶ Ελυμα.

simple plough\* was to be kept as a reserve, in case of accidents; and recommended, I presume, for this purpose, as being cheaper. It is not particularly described by Hesiod, but seems to have consisted of one piece of wood, bent; the lower extremity answering to the first part of the complex plough, in which the share, made of hard wood, was fixed; and the upper extremity answering to the handle. The handle is not mentioned in this place by Hesiod, his object being not to describe implements so well known, but only to remind the farmer, what description of wood he should provide, and at what season. It occurs afterwards,† but without any description, or mention of the wood, of which it should be made: as also the yoke,‡ and the goad :§ the traces or ropes between the oxen, fastening the yoke to the beam,|| and a kind of hoe¶ for covering the seed. The same kind of hoe is mentioned by Homer,\* as an instrument for cleansing water courses. He also reminds the farmer of the great number of pieces† necessary to make a cart, that he may provide accordingly. The other implements mentioned, are, the scythe, for mowing grass,‡ which was bent;§ reaping hooks, for cutting corn;|| the pruning knife,¶ or bill-hook;

\* Αὐλογον. † Works and Days, 467.—εχετλη. ‡ Ζυγον.  
 § Ορπηξ. || Μεσσαβων ¶ Μαχελλα. \* Il. xxi. 259.  
 † Εκαλον δε τε δουρα αμαξης. ‡ Δρεπανον.—Od, xviii. 367.  
 § Ευκαμπτες. || Il. xviii. 551.—δρεπανη οξεια. ¶ Αρπη.

the winnowing machine,\* which is supposed to have been only a long pitchfork or grape of wood, with broad prongs, or a shovel. A word,† which when applied to Laertes,‡ means, I think, raking, smoothing the ground with a § rake or hoe, signifies in another passage of Homer,|| an instrument for sweeping or scraping a floor. The mill was wrought by women; but we have no description of it. Perhaps the mill was used by the rich, and the mortar by the farmer, for domestic use. I have not met with harrow, nor with spade or shovel, except these last be included in the ¶ term translated a hoe.

It appears,\* that there were twelve querns or hand-mills in Ulysses' house, and that each was turned by one woman; for there were twelve women, and they had all finished their tasks and gone to sleep, except one, who continued to ply her mill. In Judea, two women were allowed to one mill.†

The metal used in implements of husbandry, was iron;‡ but two generations before Hesiod, and one before the Trojan war, it appears, that there was not any iron in use: they tilled the ground with brass, and made all their other implements of the same metal. If, however, Homer does not ex-

\* Πῆνον.—Il. xiii. 588. † Λιστρευοῦσα. ‡ Od. xxiv. 226.

§ Λιστρον. || Od. xxii. 455. ¶ Μανελλα. \* Od. xx. 105, &c.

† Matt. xxiv. 41. ‡ Works and Days, 387—150.

aggerate extravagantly, a small quantity of iron sufficed even in his days; for\* a ball used in sport,† was sufficient for an extensive farmer for two years, being used, I suppose, only for small implements.

They began to plough at the cosmical setting of the Pleiades.‡ They ploughed with two oxen or mules, of which the latter were speediest.§ They preferred oxen of nine years old, as strongest and most tractable; one of five years was preferred for sacrifice. The signal for beginning to plough was the cry of the crane|| in the clouds, on her departure (as appears by Aristophanes¶) to Africa. The second ploughing was in spring, and the third in summer: at the third ploughing, the seed seems to have been ploughed in, or sown immediately after the plough; and a boy followed with a hoe to cover the seed from the birds.\* They ploughed without a driver, the same man holding the plough, and managing the goad.†

There were sometimes several ploughs in the same

\* Il. xxiii. 832. † Σολος. ‡ Works and Days, 384. § Il. x. 353. || Works and Days, 447. ¶ Ογυιθες. \* Works and Days, 467—470.

† A practice similar to this still continues in the county of Cork. Barley and oats, as well as wheat, are sown under the plough, the grain being scattered on the ground, in whatever state it may be, previous to the ploughing. Oats are thrown on the stubble, and ploughed in, frequently without the application of the harrow. After the wheat and barley are sown, the common prac-

field;\* and a man stood at the end of the furrow with wine to encourage the ploughmen. The oxen were kept together by having only one yoke, perhaps like our curricle bar, which was fastened to the beam by the traces.† At least, this seems to be countenanced by a line in the Iliad.‡

This sowing is understood to be of wheat; if so, they sowed wheat in summer. If they ploughed in their grain so late as the winter solstice,§ they ex-

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tice is to break the clods with a spade, an operation which is called hacking. The whole process amounts to no more than scattering the seed on the stubble, and ploughing it.—Townshend's Survey of Cork.

No harrow is used about Aleppo; but the ground is ploughed a second time after it is sown, to cover the grain. In sandy ground they plough but once, and that after sowing. The plough is so light, that a man of moderate strength may easily carry it with one hand; and one man both drives, and holds it with so much ease, that he generally smokes his pipe at the same time.—Harmer's Observations, i. 477.

\* Il. xviii. 545. † Μεσοαλεα. ‡ Il. xiii. 706.—τω μεν τε ζυγον διον εινεον αμφις εεγγει.

§ Works and Days, 479—490.—These lines seem to imply the shortness of the straw in particular: “You shall reap sitting, grasping little in your hand; covered with dust while you bind the sheaves, heartless; and will carry them in a basket: few will admire you.” This passage bears a strong resemblance to Psalm cxxix. 7.—“As the grass upon the house tops, which withereth before it groweth up; wherewith the mower filleth not his hand, nor he that bindeth sheaves, his bosom; neither do they which go by, say, The blessing of the Lord be upon you.”

pected a bad crop; except there happened a rain of three days, at the singing of the cuckoo, so as to cover the hoof of an ox. This equalized the late sowing and the early. Hesiod directs them to plough, sow and reap, naked;\* and is followed by Virgil; though in the Shield of Hercules, (288) he represents their figures as clothed in elegant garments. In this passage, therefore, naked means either in the heat of summer, or without their upper garments, in which sense it is often used. The word which Hesiod uses, commonly signifies a tunic, or tight coat; though in one passage he employs it to express a longer dress.†

The kinds of grain that they sowed, were barley,‡ bearded wheat,§ spelt,|| and millet,¶ which was sown in summer, when the grapes began to change colour, when the grass-hopper with azure wings, that feeds on dew, begins to proclaim the summer to men by her song, and when Sirius scorches the body.\*

The reaping season began at the rising of the Pleiades.† In Judea the barley was sown in November: the first fruits of the harvest were offered at the feast of unleavened bread, about the beginning of April; and the first of the wheat harvest, at Pentecost, seven weeks later. At the feast of tabernacles, in the second week of October, all the harvest and

\* Works and Days, 391. † Works and Days, 537.—*τεξμοεντα χιτώνα.* ‡ *Κρι.* § *Πύρος.* || *Ζεισι,* *ολυμπα.* ¶ *Κεγχόες.*

\* Shield, 393, &c. † Works and Days, 383.

vintage were gathered in. It may be doubted, whether the reapers cut the corn with reaping-hooks, or mowed it, as is now sometimes done. The words\* are ambiguous, and occur but once each in Homer; and in one place,† a scythe used for cutting corn is signified;‡ in another, an instrument for mowing grass. Homer seems to imply, that the reapers did not catch the manipuli in their hands; for in one of these places he says—"The labourers cut the corn, having sharp hooks in their hands, and the handfuls fell thick on the ground along the ridge." In another§—"The reapers opposite to each other, cut the ridge, and the handfuls fell thick." The word,|| however, means what is caught in the hand, and should probably decide the question in favour of reaping in the common sense of the word. Hesiod says only—"They cut the bending stalks with sharp edges."¶ While some manipuli were falling on the ridge, the binders were tying others with bands;\* and children were bringing them handfuls to be bound: and then, according to Hesiod, they filled the barn.† Accordingly, I do not find any mention of stooking or stacking. In the mean time, in Homer's field, the master stood by rejoicing; the men servants prepared an entertainment under an oak by sacrificing an ox; and the women dressed a supper

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\*  $\Delta\mu\pi\alpha\nu\nu$ ,  $\delta\mu\pi\alpha\nu\eta$ . † Il. xviii. 551. ‡ Od. xviii. 367.  
§ Il. xi. 67. ||  $\Delta\mu\gamma\mu\alpha$ . ¶ Shield, 288. \* Il. xviii. 553.  
† Shield, 291.

of flour pottage for the labourers. The practice of the Jews is thus expressed in the book of Psalms: “ Wherewith the mower filleth not his hand, nor he that bindeth the sheaves, his bosom.”\* In the time of Joseph also they bound the sheaves.†

The time for threshing was determined by the Heliacal rising of Orion.‡ The threshing floor was to be in an airy situation, and carefully levelled with a roller. The grain was measured, and deposited in a store, under the care of a hired servant. Hesiod advises, that he should be one, who had no house of his own. The female servant also, should have no children; for those that have, are troublesome. They are to be assisted by a well fed watch-dog, with rough teeth, lest the man that sleeps by day [the thief] may steal the grain. After laying up hay and straw for the oxen and mules, the farmer may then grant a respite from their labour to his servants and cattle. The word used for threshing by Hesiod, implies the beating out of the corn by the feet of the cattle as they go round. The same mode of threshing is more particularly described by Homer.§ From that passage it appears, that more than one ox were employed; that they were yoked together; that barley was threshed in this manner; and that the straw was beaten small. The great antiquity of this prac-

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\* Psalm cxxix. 7. † Gen. xxxvii. 7. ‡ Works and Days, 598. § Il. xx. 495.

tic, appears from that humane precept of Moses: “Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn;”\* though neither the Hebrew word, nor that used by the Septuagint,† necessarily implies treading out, but may be applied to beating out the corn by means of oxen, in any other manner, or by rollers or other instruments; as indeed Hesiod’s phrase may also be interpreted.‡

The agricultural process of the Jews in the time of Homer is minutely detailed by Isaiah.§ The Septuagint Version differs in some points from ours; and as both the Hebrew and Greek were in use, and familiar to the translators, their authority is great, as in other cases, so particularly in the translation of technical terms, names of implements, plants, &c. Instead of the twenty-fourth verse, the seventy say—“Will the ploughman plough the whole day? or will he prepare the sowing, before he has laboured the ground?” The word they use for fitches or vetches,|| implies a small plant with a dark flower. They also mark the order of sowing: thus, “first the small vetches, and cumin; and again, the wheat, and barley, and spelt, in the borders.” The twenty-seventh verse runs thus: “For the vetch is not cleansed with harshness or violence; nor shall the wheel of a waggon go round

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\* Deut. xxv. 4. † *Αλοωντα.* ‡ Videtur tamen proprie *αλοᾶν* esse variis ietibus quasi contundere.—Hen. Stephanus. § Isaiah xxviii—24. || *Μικρον μελανδριον.*

on the cumin: but the vetch is shaken out with a rod, and the cumin with a staff." This might resemble our flail. The twenty-eighth verse is entirely different from our translation: "Afterward he shall eat bread; for I will not be angry with you for ever; nor shall the voice of my bitterness trample you down." The last verse is also widely different; but does not relate to our subject. From the second chapter of Ruth we may gather, that the Jews bound their corn in sheaves; and that they sometimes beat out the grain with rods: for a word of that signification is employed in the Septuagint,\* and the Hebrew word has the same meaning in Isaiah xxviii. 27. Neither is there any mention of parched corn in that Version.

Having had occasion to mention the Israelites, I shall, before I resume the consideration of Homer and Hesiod, take notice of some other particulars in the Sacred Writings.

The injunction not to plough with an ox and ass together, implies, that this was sometimes done; and probably with superstitious views.† Hosea says— "Ephraim is a heifer that is taught, that loveth to tread out the corn.‡ "Judah shall plough, and Jacob shall break his elods." This agrees with Hesiod; but the Septuagint is totally different. Elijah§

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\* Εραζόσεν. † Deut. xxii. 10. ‡ Hos. x. ii. § 1 Kings, xix. 19.

found Elisha ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, and he with the twelfth.\* The privilege of gleaning is often confirmed in the books of Moses.† Harrows are mentioned at a very early period, but are not now used in Syria;‡ and in the Septuagint they are either omitted altogether, or translated by a word,§ which usually signifies rollers with iron points, used in war, and also in husbandry for threshing corn.

The process next to threshing is winnowing. This was performed by the force of men, and the wind.|| The instrument was a kind of shovel. Homer gives it the epithet, broad. In this operation, the chaff was thrown in heaps, into a part of the barn, intended for its reception.¶ In the same manner, the pods were separated from beans and peas, which are represented as bounding through the barn.

The Jews used sieves, as appears from Amos ix. 9: “I will sift the house of Israel, as corn is sifted in a sieve;” where the seventy use the same verb with Homer, but a different substantive, viz., one of the same origin with the verb. Isaiah says:/\* “The oxen also, and the young asses that ear the ground, shall eat clean provender, which hath been winnowed with the shovel and the fan.” But in the seventy

\* See also Il. xviii. 542. † Lev. xix. 9, &c. ‡ Job xxxix. 10.—2 Sam. xii. 31.—1 Chr. xx. 3. § Τριπόλων. || Il. xiii. 590.

¶ Il. v. 499. \* Isaiah xxx. 24.

it is: "Your bulls and oxen, that labour the ground, shall eat chaff of winnowed barley."

As to grinding the corn; I have already mentioned, that the pestle and mortar, described by Hesiod, were probably used for that purpose,\* and that twelve querns, worked by one woman each, were going at the same time, in the palace of Ulysses, to supply that family, and the company of extravagant visitors with bread. From a passage in the Gospels, it appears, that a handmill required two women in the time of our Saviour. This is often mentioned in Scripture as a kind of female slavery.† Sampson ground in the prison-house, as did the Roman slaves. This mode of servitude for men occurs also in Lamentations v. 13. When the flour was to be exported, it was conveyed in leathern bags.‡

With respect to bread, the best was made of the flour of wheat and barley, which Homer calls the marrow of men.§ As to the baking, I have noted no passage, except that of Hesiod, where he describes the food of the ploughman; who, he says, should be one, that sups upon bread of four pieces and eight mouthfuls,|| or smaller bits: by which epithet, I think, he only describes the kind of bread, not the quantity; such as was usually divided into farrels

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\* *Pistillis frumentum conterito*.—Columella. † *Exod. ix. 5.*  
*Job xxxi. 10.*—*Isaiah xlvi. 2.* ‡ *Od. ii. 354.* § *Od. xx. 108.*

|| *Τετρατρυφόν*, *οὐλαζελωμον*.

or quarters, and these subdivided into halves. Telemachus, however, took a whole loaf out of a basket, to give to the poor stranger.\*

In the battle of the frogs and mice, Psicharpax boasts, that he fed on loaves thrice pounded, or kneaded with a pestle; and broad cakes full of sesamum.† But whether their bread was baked in any form but that of cakes, does not appear.

I do not recollect any particulars of their treatment of their grass lands. Whether they had any meadow, in our sense of the word, is not clear, except that from a passage in Hesiod it would appear, that they saved hay and other forage;‡ and from Homer, that they mowed grass.§ There is a passage in Homer, in which he gives a very minute description of irrigation; but whether it extended to meadows or only to gardens, may be doubtful:|| “As when an irrigator conducts a stream of water from a black spring, through his plantations and gardens, having a hoe in his hands, and throwing the obstacles out of the water course: as it flows on, all the pebbles are disturbed: it rapidly descends a declivity, with a running noise, and overtakes its conductor, &c.¶

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\* Od. xvii. 343.—*αρτον*. † Line 35.—*αρτος*. ‡ Works and Days, 606. § Od. xviii. 367. || Il. xxi. 257—346.

¶ In Egypt the ground is commonly ploughed in rills, [drills] and the water is conducted from one rill [drill] to another by the gardener, who is always ready to stop and direct the current by turning the earth against it with his foot, and opening a new

Hesiod says, that, in the depth of winter, the farmer should reduce his oxen to half allowance; but give his labourers more: i. e. more than half their ordinary allowance, on account of the long nights; but he does not mention the nature of the provender or food. Neither does Homer, I think, mention hay expressly; though he is particular in enumerating the kinds of food given to horses.\* The first of these is the lotus, which Herodotus describes as a species of lily,† thrown up in abundance by the water of the Nile, after the inundation. It is mown, and dried in the sun; after which, the middle, which is like a poppy, is parched, and baked into loaves. They also eat the root, which is round, of the size of an apple, and sweeter. Pliny mentions both the tree and the flower; and gives a similar account with Herodotus of its use.‡ The second kind of food is a species of rush.§ It is described at length by Pliny, who says, that it is an angular or triangular rush; that the root is diuretic, and that the seed, which is roasted, is of a costive quality.|| The third is

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trench with his mattock. This is alluded to—(Deut. xi. 10, 11.) “The land (Judea) is not as Egypt, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.—Hamer’s Observations, i. 26.

\* Od. iv. 603. † Euterpe, 92. ‡ Nat. Hist. xiii. 17. § Κυπειρος.  
|| Nat. Hist. xxi. 18.

bearded wheat,\* of which several kinds are enumerated by Pliny.† A fourth is spelt.‡ A fifth, broad growing, white barley.§ Meadow is mentioned as a sixth.|| He also mentions smallage or parsley. He describes it as growing in marshes, and wet meadows.¶ In one of these places he mentions violet,\* as growing in the same ground with parsley;† but some of the ancients read‡ yellow parsley, or water cresses. Andromache mixed wine with their corn:§ and Patroclus, after washing their manes in water, poured oil on them.||

Of their skill in gardening we are not encouraged to form a very high idea by the description of the garden of Alcinous.¶ This we may suppose to be a fair representation of their practice, as it bears no marks of poetical fancy, and of their most approved practice, being the property of the luxurious king of the most luxurious people. It lay without the court of the palace, but near the gate. It is called a great garden;\* and yet it contained only four jugera,† or according to Eustathius, one square jugerum, the Roman acre, which was two hundred and forty feet by one hundred and twenty. But though the Greek word is supposed to correspond with jugerum, I

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\* Πυρος. † Plin. xviii. 7. ‡ Ζεια v. ολυρα. § Ευρυφυες κρι λευκον. || Λειμων. ¶ Σελινον ελεοδρεπιον. \* Ιου- † Il. ii. 776.—Od. v. 72. ‡ Σιου. § Il. viii. 188. || Il. xxiii 282. ¶ Od. vii. 112. \* Ορχαλος. † Γυα.

have never seen an exact account of that Grecian measure. It was enclosed,\* but whether with a wall or hedge is not clear, probably, the latter. It contained an orchard of pears, pomegranates, apples, figs, and olives, and a plantation of vines. The garden of Laertes was furnished with the same trees. There were also plots of herbs and flowers: and the same circumstance is mentioned in the garden of Laertes.† It was watered by two springs; one of which was dispersed through the garden, the other passed under the court into the house, and thence supplied the town's-people with water. Such minutiae as these lead one to suppose, that Homer described some garden, that he had been acquainted with.

Hesiod says, that the thirteenth day of the month is unsavourable for sowing, but the best for grafting, if this be the meaning of the word.‡ Their management of vines may be gathered from a variety of passages in Homer and Hesiod. Sixty days after the winter solstice, Arcturus rose in the evening, after sun-set. Soon after, the swallow began her mournful cry in the morning; and the spring commenced. Before this time, they were to prune their vines. The digging was to be finished before the middle of May, when the house-snail§ climbs the plants, flying from the rainy Pleiades.|| The vine-

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\* Ερχος. † Od. xxiv. 246. ‡ Works and Days, 781.—Ενδεψασθαι. § Φεγεοικος. || Works and Days, 564.

yard was enclosed with a hedge and ditch, with only one path for the vintagers; and the vines were supported by poles and their tendrils. The crop was carried off in baskets, to the sound of music, with singing, shouting, and dancing.\* The bunches of white and black grapes were taken off with crooked knives, and were afterwards trodden. This was to be done when Orion and Sirius had arrived in the middle of heaven, and Aurora had a view of Arcturus.† In one of these passages Hesiod directs the grapes to be exposed to the sun ten days and nights: then to be kept five days in the shade, and on the sixth, the gifts of the joyous Bacchus were to be poured into vessels; without any mention of treading the grapes, or expressing the juice.‡ Their rustic servants were either hirelings or slaves.§ The masculine of this last word does not occur in Homer, though|| the feminine does. Male slaves are called by a different name.¶ Their business, beside attending the pigsties, feeding cattle, ploughing, &c., ready mentioned, was to plant trees, and make hedges, and other fences; for their food and clothing only.\* The house servants were to cleave billets, and heap

\* Il. xviii. 562. † Shield, 292.—Works and Days, 609.

‡ “Forte de exigua copia vini, ejusque præstantissimi, conficienda agit.”—Clericus. § Θητες, Δουλος. || Δουλη. ¶ Διωνες,

\* Od. xviii. 355.

wood on the fire; to butcher or carve meat; and to serve wine.\*

Among the epithets bestowed upon their cattle, their black, or horned cattle are distinguished by such as † imply the curvature of their horns, the flexibility of their limbs,‡ and the elevation or tossing of their heads, when they walk. A valuable mare is described as six years old, carrying a mule in her womb.§

They kept vast numbers of sheep, swine, and goats. Their goats were fattest in the season of the artichoke, or golden thistle; when the grasshopper,|| which feeds on dew, pours forth a clear sound, from under its wings, sitting on a tree. They castrated kids, lambs, goats, bulls, and mules.¶ Kings were styled shepherds of their people; and the sons of kings were employed in tending sheep.\* They kept dogs for the same purposes that we do. Ulysses found his affectionate dog, which must have been considerably above twenty years of age, lying among the dung, before the palace gate, which the labourers were to take to the farm for manuring the ground. This fact implies the age of dogs; the filth of the palace; and the preservation and use of the dung.†

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\* Od. xv. 321. † Ελικες, ειλποδες, οεδοκραιγαων. ‡ Volumina pedum.—Virgil. § Βρεφος ημιονον κυεουσαν.—Il. xxiii. 266. || Τελτιξ.—Scutum, 393. ¶ Ουρεις. \* Il. xi. 106. † Od. xvii. 107.

Among their other uses, dogs were employed in hunting the hare and other beasts.\* Ulysses found his father, in no better plight than his dogs, working in his orchard. He had sent his servants to collect materials for strengthening the hedge. He himself was digging about a plant, in a dirty, patched coat, with leatheren gaiters, or leggings, to protect him from thorns; and gloves for the same purpose, on his hands. On his head he wore a cap of goat's skin.† A yet more miserable account of his poverty occurs in another passage.‡ In the produce of their farms, cheese was a considerable article. They used the juice of figs for rennet to thicken their milk. Polyphemus thickened half his milk for cheese, and laid it up in baskets for future use.§ Bees and drones are frequently mentioned; but I do not remember any notice of the management of the bees. They had the art of making oil, and perfuming it, though, it is thought, not of using it for lamps. They sometimes kept it for nine years.|| *Frondes*, or young branches and leaves of trees, are not mentioned as food for horses, though so common in Virgil's days. I understand, that the Abyssinians and Arabians use them in times of scarcity: and Evelyn says the same of the people of Hertfordshire.

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\* Scutum, 303. † Od. xxiv. 225. ‡ Od. xi. 186. § Od. ix. 219. || Il. xviii. 351.

## NATURAL HISTORY.

THE knowledge of nature, possessed by Homer and Hesiod, must have been very scanty. In Cosmogony, Homer was a Neptunist, and considered water as the origin of all things.\* On this principle, perhaps, he styles Neptune the Shaker of the earth, as if subterraneous waters were the cause of earthquakes. In Homer the thunder is said to precede the bolt, contrary both to philosophy and experience. Is it probable, that atmospheric stones were intended?† Job appears to have had more observation. (xxxvii. 3, 4.) Of the springs of the Scamander, he says, that one was hot, smoking like fire; the other as cold hail, snow, or ice, even in summer. There are no discriminating names for the materials, of which the earth is composed, either superficial or fossile.

\* Ωκεανου, οσπερ γενεσις παντεσσι τετυκται.

Ωκεανούτε θεων γενεσιν και μηλέρα Τηθύν.

Il. xiv. 201—246—302.

† Frogs and Mice, 277.—Πρωτα μεν εβρονησεν—αυταρ επει-  
α κεραυνον οὐκ'.—Il. viii. 133.—Od. xii. 415.

In his Similes he describes a great variety of natural appearances; and, in particular, the instincts and operations of animals, wild and tame. He seems to take pleasure in dwelling on such descriptions. Thus when Menelaus and Ajax came to the succour of Ulysses, they found him surrounded by the Trojans; as in the mountains, blood-thirsty spotted lynxes gather around a wounded stag, which the hunter has pierced with an arrow. He had escaped indeed by his speed, while his blood was warm, and his knees would move: but when the arrow subdued his strength, the greedy lynxes tear him in a shady wood, till fortune sends a lion, who devours him, while the lynxes fly. Lyons are a favourite subject. The reluctant retreat of Ajax he compares to that of a lion repelled from a stall of oxen by dogs and rustics, who kept watch all night, expecting him. His assaults are continually resisted by frequent darts; and he is dismayed by the blazing torches. He, however, persists till morning, when he retires, mortified and disappointed. This is followed by the well known similitude of Ajax to an obstinate ass, which the boys endeavour in vain to drive from a field of corn.\* His descriptions of wolves are equally picturesque and characteristic. He paints them as ravenous and daring, devouring a deer in the mountains, with their jaws stained

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\* Il. xi. 474—547—557.

with blood, and then running in troops to slake their thirst by lapping water from a dark-coloured spring, with their slender tongues, polluting the stream with clotted gore; or as surprising stray lambs or kids, which the careless shepherd has suffered to wander from the flock.\*

Homer and Hesiod have occasion to mention many species of beasts, birds, and insects, but hardly any fish. The word, commonly translated a whale, is understood to signify any large fish in Homer. The trees and shrubs, herbs and flowers, that occur, are fewer than we might expect in such diversified poems; and the most remarkable of all these classes, both of the animal and vegetable creation, I have occasion to notice in different parts of this Treatise. To these, the battle of the frogs and mice furnishes some additions; but none that require particular notice.

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\* Il. xvi. 156—352.

SECTION IV.  

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CIVIL GOVERNMENT, MILITARY AFFAIRS, AND  
RELIGION.

THE patriarchal state was the original condition of mankind. The primitive stock speedily split into kindred tribes: the patriarch of a tribe soon passed into a king; and accordingly historians are agreed, that monarchy was the first form of government. When clans became numerous, contentions ensued, and the stronger party obliged the weaker to seek for settlements, where they would have more room. From Egypt and Phenicia they removed to the Grecian Peninsula, and were there met by the descendants of Deucalion from Thessaly, and other northern adventurers. Among these petty states, some powerful leaders shortly appeared, who domineered over the rest. Of these the chief was Hercules, with his numerous posterity and allies. Though expelled for a time from the Peninsula, they repeatedly returned, assisted by the Dorians, a Deucali-

donian tribe; and at last succeeded in regaining their ancient settlements. This occasioned many other migrations, and excited such a spirit of enterprise, as gave rise to a variety of predatory expeditions to distant countries. Not content with ordinary plunder, they carried off the inhabitants; and, among the rest, women of distinguished rank or beauty, with a view to marriage or ransom. These produced reprisals; and the coasts of Greece were infested by Carian and Phenician Corsairs. Thus such a spirit of hostility was kept up, as, in the opinion of Herodotus, gave rise to that animosity between Greece and Asia, which, at length, occasioned the Persian Wars. We are at present, however, concerned only with the siege of Troy.

Another prominent feature in the character of those barbarous times, was the frequent occurrence of murder or casual homicide among the members of powerful families. In the absence of law, the relations of the deceased asserted the right and duty of personal and family vengeance. Dardanus is said to have been so unfortunate as to kill his brother Jasius; and, according to the custom of the times, fled from Etruria, to avoid resentment, or to solicit the solemnity of expiation. For one of these purposes he took refuge in Samothrace, a country famed for sanctity, and afterwards removed to Rhæteum, where he married the daughter of Teucer, who had also emigrated to that country from Crete. At that time there were no cities; elevated situations had not

been occupied as places of strength.\* He therefore founded Troy. His grandson Tros had three sons. Ilus succeeded him, and was the father of Laomedon; Assaracus was grandfather to Anchises; and Ganymede was carried off by Tantalus, a neighbouring prince. This outrage occasioned a war, in which Tros was successful; and Pelops, the son of Tantalus, fled to Pisa. There he married the daughter of the king, and succeeded to the throne.

The Heraclidæ were the common enemy, against whom it was the policy of the Peloponnesian princes to combine. Pelops, accordingly, connected himself with Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ, the persecutor of Hercules, by the marriage of his son Atreus with Oeope, the daughter of Eurystheus: and in the next generation, Agamemnon and Menelaus, sons of Atreus, married Clytemnestra and Helen, daughters of Tyndarus, king of Lacedæmon, who held his crown in trust, to restore it to the Heraclidæ, when they returned; a trust which he never meant to fulfil. Nestor also is said to have held his dominions in trust, after Hercules had destroyed his father and his eleven sons. Nestor himself escaped, by being reared at Gerene, whence he is called Gerenius.

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Nondum ilium & arcæ  
Pergameæ steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.  
Æneid. iii. 110.

Agamemnon succeeded his father in his extensive dominions, Mycenæ, Corinth, and Ticyon, round to Elis, with the neighbouring islands; and Menelaus ascended the throne of Sparta. Thus the Pelopidæ were possessed of almost the whole of the Peninsula, except Arcadia and Argolis, whence it took the name of Peloponnesus. The expulsion of Pelops from Asia was therefore the first cause of enmity between Greece and Troy.

Meanwhile, an expedition from the north of Greece had taken Troy, and made prisoners of Podarces and Hesione, the children of Laomedon. Podarces was ransomed, and changed his name to Priam; Hesione fell to the lot of Telamon: Telamon was father of Ajax by Peribæa; and by Hesione, of Teucer, who was thus nephew to Priam, and cousin to Hector and Paris. This invasion was an additional cause of hostility between Troy and Greece. Accordingly, when the sons of Priam were come to manhood, Paris planned an enterprize in his turn, to avenge the insult offered to his aunt. He directed it against Menelaus, one of the house of Pelops; and, in his absence at Crete, on a visit to Idomeneus, or Argos, to recover property left him by his father, made a prize of his wife and treasures.

Notwithstanding these provocations, it has been thought extraordinary, that so many of the princes of Greece should engage in this enterprize; but we must take into account the passion of those times for such expeditions, as the means of acquiring

glory, and amassing wealth. Besides, the Pelopidae had the entire command of Peloponnesus; and the eldest branch of that family was ambitious of commanding the army, and could furnish a fleet to transport the troops of those states, which were destitute of ships.\*

Lastly; Tyndarus had bound the numerous suitors of Helen, who had, in her early youth, been carried off by Theseus, by a solemn oath, that they would all combine to avenge her cause, if any unsuccessful suitor, or any other person, should make a similar attempt after her marriage.† Such is the view, that I take of the politics of that early age, without disputing with those, who adopt a different one. There is sufficient uncertainty to admit of variety; and too much obscurity to justify pertinacity.

Before we proceed, it may not be out of place to point out the effect, which these transactions had upon language, and particularly on the style of Homer and Hesiod. It is evident, that the various colonies from Egypt and Phenicia, and those from Thessaly, led by the descendants of Deucalion, Xuthus, Dorus, Ion, and Æolus, must have introduced a variety of dialects, if not of languages. To these they, no doubt, adhered in their respective districts; but in a short time, these tribes intermingled both in family connexions and language.

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\* Il. ii. 614. † Il. ii. 339.

This confusion of clans and tongues must have been greatly increased by the various revolutions, which afterwards took place. Every petty war was the occasion of invasions, expulsions and migrations. Still greater confusion was occasioned by the expulsion, and repeated returns of the Heraclidae, who brought with them the Dorians and their dialect from the north; by the two Theban wars, in which the people of Argos were so deeply concerned; by the settlement of the Æolians in Achaia, and various other changes that might be named. While these convulsions continued, there was no such country as Greece; nor had the inhabitants any common appellation. We read in Homer of Argives, Achæans, Danai, and Hellenes; but meet with no term signifying Greeks. This denomination was of much later origin; and was originally only a provincial designation like the rest.\*

While these causes were operating in Europe, there can be no doubt, that a constant intercourse was kept up with the islands, and Asia Minor: and the consequence was, that, in all these countries, there existed that confusion of dialects, which we meet with in Homer and Hesiod. The most prevalent of these were the Ionic, Doric, and Æolic. These poets, then, were not guilty of the absurdity of

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\* Γραικος ὁ Θεσσαλου ὥιος, αφ' ὧν Γραικοι ὦν Ελληνες.—Strabo.

framing a language for themselves, out of the various dialects which obtained in different districts; as if an English writer should form a language consisting of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Somersetshire dialects; for as one resided in Bœotia, and the other in Æolia, or Ionia, this combination would be impracticable, as well as absurd. They used the language as they found it. The appropriation of these dialects to particular countries was afterwards occasioned or expedited by the Æolic, Ionic, and Doric migrations; and the old Ionic was refined into the Attic.

Having made these cursory remarks on the foreign policy and language of these various states, I shall now endeavour to throw some light on their forms of internal government.

We have a description of every state of society in Homer. A state of nature he exemplifies in his account of the Cyclops. They neither ploughed nor sowed; they had neither public councils nor laws: but lived in caves in the mountains, administering justice to their wives and children, and disregarding all others, even the gods.\* All other nations were subject to kingly government. This, however, varied in its constitution, in different countries: in most it was hereditary; in some perhaps elective; sometimes absolute, at others limited; in some monarchical, in others associated: in Troy there was an uninterrupt-

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\* Od. ix, 106.

ed succession, yet even Priam had a privy council, who met in his gate,\* as was the custom in Scripture history. Throughout Peloponnesus there had been frequent changes of dynasties. Thus too, in Etolia, Thoas reigned, after the extinction of the family of Oeneus by the death of Meleager. Telemachus is acknowledged by Antinous to have an hereditary right: yet he himself says in reply, that there were many kings† in Ithaca, any one of whom might possess the sovereignty; but asserts, that he would remain master‡ of his own house. In another place he is told, that there is no family in Ithaca more royal than his, implying that others had claims to royalty.§ Alcinous was only the chief of thirteen kings in Phœacia,|| who were associated with him in council.¶ Sarpedon and Glaucus were both kings\* of the Lycians, lineally descended from a former king by the female line; and in the same degree; except that Sarpedon was the son of a grand-daughter. Their common ancestor was Bellerophon, who had signalized himself in the service of the king of Lycia, by whom he was rewarded with half of the royal dignity, and his daughter; but it appears, that he had no dominion over the land; for the demesne of Bellerophon was bestowed by the people.† On the contrary, Agamemnon promises Achilles seven

\* Il. ii. 788. † Βασιλῆας. ‡ Od. i. 394.—Αναξ. § Od. xv. 532.

|| Βασιλῆες. ¶ Od. viii. 40—390. \* Βασιλεῖς. † Il. xii. 313.

cities, which should pay him tribute;\* and his brother Menelaus says, that he would gladly tempt Ulysses to remove with his family and people to Argos, by levelling one of his own cities, and building another for Ulysses. Argos was his hereditary dominions. He probably had no such power in Sparta, which he enjoyed by right of his wife. These princes were entitled kings,† but the word *tyrannus*‡ never occurs in Homer; from which perhaps we may conclude, that there were no free states in his time, or at least no usurpers of their privileges; neither, I think, does that term occur in Hesiod. It is found, however, in the hymn to Mars, (5) which seems to impeach the authenticity of that piece. In like manner,§ *Nomos* never signifies law in Homer. If in the hymn to Apollo (20) it must have that signification, it would render the antiquity of that hymn questionable. It has been supposed from this circumstance, that there were no written laws in the time of Homer, or at least of the Trojan War. We meet, however, the word in this sense twice in Hesiod.|| *Themis*¶ is the word used in Homer, signifying equity. From an address of Andromache to Hector it appears, that after her father's death, though he left seven sons, her mother reigned in Hypoplacia.\* This is, I believe, the only instance

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\* Il. ix. 159. † *Βασιλης* & *ανακλες*. ‡ *Τυραννος*. § *Nomos*. || Works and Days, 276.—Theog. 66. ¶ *Θεμις*. \* Il. vi. 396.

of a female sovereign, or of a woman invested with any power in those times.

Sceptres were borne both by kings and judges, when they took the oath of justice: but crowns are no where mentioned as one of the insignia of royalty. Stephanos\* occurs but once in the Iliad or Odyssey, and signifies a surrounding crowd: Stephanè† is a helmet. Sceptres were handed down from father to son with the kingdom, as in the case of Agamemnon, &c., and there is frequent allusion to a kind of divine right.‡ A king, however, might forfeit his dignity either by murder, or in consequence of an oracle. I do not know for what cause Laertes had abdicated his throne, and spent such a miserable life in the country, except to avoid the insolence of the suitors.

It may not be out of place here to note some points of resemblance between the state of government in those early times, and that which has prevailed in other rude nations.

An Irish chieftain possessed by the Brehon law no property in the territory, over which he ruled, except his patrimonial lands. He possessed the throne only as a life tenant; the succession did not necessarily descend to his son: on the contrary, his successor was generally elected by the Sept during his life, like the king of the Romans in Germany, and

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\* Στεφανός. † Στεφανη. ‡ Il. ii. 101.

in some degree divided with him the influence of the government. Whether there was any thing like tanistry in those ancient times, I cannot pretend to determine; but there seems to have been some participation of royal power: and some pretensions to the succession in the princes of Ithaca, Phæacia, and Lycia.

In like manner, among the Saxons, a prince having bestowed a manor on the church of Canterbury, without the consent of his people, it was revoked; for land was looked upon as the property of the nation. This harmonizes with the cases of Bellerophon and Meleager, the last of whom received a demesne from the people of the Etolians, not from their king. The lands of a Highland chief are said to have been at first the joint property of his clan. It has been observed, that those laws are among the most ancient, which vest the property of the land in the nation, and not in the individual. Thus the promised land was allotted to the Hebrew tribes, and divided into provinces accordingly. There was also a subdivision according to their families.

Again, in the Brehon law robbery on the open sea is permitted, and piracy was the glory of the Norwegian and Danish princes; a state of society, which accords with the heroic times of Greece.

One of the employments of their kings in limited monarchies, was to cultivate the portion of land assigned them by the people. In absolute governments they imposed tribute on their subjects; and

Hector seems to have exacted a war tax for the support of his auxiliaries.\* But Ulysses, in his address to the princes of Phaeacia, prays for a continuance of the possessions and honours, which the people had given them.

In some countries, the people seem to have had considerable influence in government, and even to have elected the ministers of religion. In Ithaca, Telemachus appeals to an assembly against the suitors; and afterwards they conspire to kill him, lest he should call an assembly, and the people should banish them. Alcinous also convenes the people, to provide for the departure of Ulysses, by furnishing him with a ship, and suitable presents. In general, both in war and peace, there was a mixture of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. The king deliberated with a council, and referred the final result to the people.

Another duty of kings was to administer justice; but there were other judges employed beside kings: and we have a succinct account of the conduct of a lawsuit, in Homer's description of the shield of Achilles.† This he chooses as the most interesting scene in a city at peace, and the most picturesque. The cause too, is that which was the most common subject of dispute in those times, as it has been in many other rude nations, namely, composition for

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\* Il. xviii. 497. † Il. xvii. 225.

homicide. The cities of refuge were a singularly wise provision, in this case, in the Jewish commonwealth. A very large proportion of the distinguished men in the heroic ages were obliged to fly their country on that account; and Ulysses himself was afraid of being banished from Ithaca, if he killed the suitors: but in a lower class of society, fines, or erics, as the Irish called them, were exacted and accepted, even for the murder of a brother. In the cause described by Homer, the plaintiff claimed the price of homicide, and the defendant asserted, that he had paid it. They both appealed to the surrounding multitude, and offered to prove their assertions by witnesses; the people were divided, and they proceeded to the court of justice. The crowd was great, and the criers were employed in keeping them in order: at length the judges, elderly men, took their seats on stone benches, in a circular court of law. The criers handed them the sceptre, on which they were to swear, and they gave their opinions *seriatim*. This agrees exactly with the forms in the Areopagus. There were two talents exposed in court, as the reward of him, who should pronounce the most upright sentence; but who was to judge the judges we are not told. Perhaps, the reward was bestowed on him, in whose opinion the greater number acquiesced. Some think, that the two talents were the sum in dispute.\* When such feuds

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\* Il. xviii. 497.

as these could not be compromised, the offender fled to some king, or other distinguished person in a foreign country, and supplicated liberty to pass through a certain purification, which absolved him from his crime. From one expression it is probable, that there was a fine also for adultery.\* When a man died childless, his property devolved to the heirs at law, or some public officers empowered to administer to the deceased. This was reckoned a great calamity. Both Homer and Hesiod speak of their dividing or distributing the property; but whether among themselves or the relations is not clear: hence I think it appears, that it was not confiscated. If the deceased had sons, they divided the patrimony equally among themselves by lot: illegitimate children had a smaller share at the discretion of their brothers; and upon any dispute, they appealed to the law. This was the case with Hesiod and his brother Perses; and the poet complains bitterly of the conduct of his brother and the judges, the one for flattery, and the other for avarice. In his Theogony he gives a more favourable representation of the judges, whom in both places he styles kings.† Kings and judges are also synonymous in the Psalms.

Another important employment of kings was war. The principal objects of war were plunder by land,

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\* Od. viii. 332. † Χηρωσται. † Βασιληας.

and piracy by sea. The Theban and Trojan wars were distinguished by sieges; but they were equally ignorant of the arts of attack and defence. The wall of Troy was liable to be scaled without ladders;\* and that of the Greeks was in no better state, except that it had a trench, with pallisades in front, and towers at intervals. The trench however was easily passed.† Within this wall the Grecian fleet seems to have been drawn up on land, in two lines, with the tents or huts between them.‡ The bravest chiefs, Achilles and Ajax, were stationed on the flanks; the wisest, Ulysses and Nestor, in the centre.§ The chiefs went the rounds; and there were outposts beyond the trench. But Homer every where contrasts their discipline with that of the Trojans, particularly as to good order and silence as they advanced. To his countrymen he, no doubt, ascribes all that was then known of the art of war. The besieged and their allies encamped; the Thracians in three lines, with their horses tied to the chariots.|| They sent out spies, but were surprised themselves. The garrison of a besieged town were accustomed to send out foraging parties, who lay in ambush for cattle in their pasture grounds and at watering places.¶ A very circumstantial account of a predatory expedition, and a war of reprisals, is given by Nestor in the eleventh book of the Iliad. (670.)

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\* Il. vi. 434: xvi. 702: xxi. 545. † Il. xii. 258—471. ‡ Il. xv. 653. § Il. viii. 222. || Il. x. 473. ¶ Il. xviii. 520.

Their system of tactics was extremely deficient. There was neither line nor order, of battle. Every nation fought under its own leader, as a separate body. Ulysses, indeed, on one occasion kept his column\* steady, till he should see others move on his right or left; but for this he got no praise. It was esteemed a great improvement in this desultory warfare, when Nestor advised,† that each fraternity or clan in one of these larger bodies, should be classed together, to promote an *esprit de corps*, and that the commander-in-chief might see how the generals behaved. His order of battle was,‡ to place the chariots in front, the infantry in the rear, and the worst troops in the centre. He also directed the charioteers to be careful, not to advance beyond the line from eagerness to engage; nor yet to fall back. If any one should be thrown from his chariot, and mount into another, he was not to attempt to hold the reins, but to leave the horses to their accustomed driver, and only use the spear. This is a disputed passage; and to four interpretations enumerated by Dr. Clarke, Heyne has added a fifth, which he prefers; that if the warrior encountered an enemy in another chariot, he should strike with the spear, without leaving his own chariot, and fighting on foot. A goddess is introduced to give advice on these subjects to Hector.

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\* Πλεγμος. † Il. ii. 362. ‡ Il. iv. 297.

The infantry were sometimes drawn up in phalanxes in close order; at others, in smaller divisions, and moveable columns. But we hear of no evolutions or manœuvres, except that one body relieved another when pressed by the enemy.\* The archers kept in the rear of the phalanxes. Poisoned arrows were sometimes used, but were hateful to the gods.† From an expression of Hector‡ it is probable, that they marched to military music, but whether vocal or instrumental does not appear. There is no mention of trumpets, except in a simile, whence it appears, that, though known to Homer, they were not in use in the Trojan War.§ The same may be said of fighting on horseback. We hear of no instruments, by which signals could be given at a distance; perhaps it is for want of them, that Menelaus and Diomede are so often celebrated for loud voices, if that be the meaning of the epithet: for the same reason Polites was chosen, as an advanced sentinel, to give notice of the approach of the enemy, on account of his fleetness. Fires, however, were in use, as signals from a besieged city, to announce their distress to their friends.|| Neither are any military standards mentioned. The pipes heard in the Trojan camp were used, I conceive, only for amusement.¶

Ability in war was probably the original and ge-

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\* Il. xvii. 365. † Od. i. 260. ‡ Il. vii. 240. § Il. xviii. 219. || Il. xviii. 209. ¶ Il. x. 13.

neral cause of the appointment of kings; as those tribes, which were not in subordination to one leader, would soon experience their inferiority. Hereditary monarchy soon followed, as a natural consequence. This was the case with the Jews—"When ye saw, that the king of Ammon came against you, ye said, Nay, but a king shall reign over us; that we may be like all nations, and that our king may judge us, and fight our battles."\* Again—"Rule thou over us, both thou and thy son, and thy son's son also; for thou hast delivered us from the hand of Midian."†

The service was not always voluntary: chiefs were compelled to join by shame, as Ulysses, after he had feigned madness to evade the service; and Achilles, who had been disguised; and inferior persons, by compulsion. Thus Mercury pretends to Priam, that he was one of seven brothers, and that on casting lots he was obliged to follow Achilles. Ulysses feigns too, that he was a Cretan, and obliged to follow Idomeneus to the Trojan War, in compliance with the opinion of the people. Echepolus also, a rich man, made Agamemnon a present of a mare to be excused, which implies an obligation to military service.‡ This obligation also existed among the Jews, though reasonable excuses were admitted.§

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\* 1 Sam. viii. 19. † Judges viii. 22.—See Sallust, Justin, &c.

‡ Il. xxiiii 296. § Deut. xx.

When preparing for battle,\* Achilles first put on his greaves, of tin, fastened with buttons or clasps; then the breastplate: he next suspended the sword by a shoulder-belt; after that, he took his shield, which was slung on his shoulder by a strap;† and, lastly, his helmet, crested with golden locks, instead of horse hair. The same order is observed by Paris.‡ After trying his armour, like David, he drew

\* Il. xix. 369. † Τελαμων. ‡ Il. iii. 330.

Some practices of the ancient Greeks survive to this day; thus, the modern Greeks shave the forepart of the head; and are particularly careful to encourage long and flowing locks, falling on their shoulders like the Abantes, οπιθεν χομοωντες, & καρηκομοωντες *Aχαιος.*

The boots, or *κνημιδες* of the Arnauts are of silver; sometimes gilt, and curiously worked. They are in general made to cover the back and inside of the leg, about half way up from the instep; and, being of different pieces united together, yield to the motion of the leg. Two circular and concave bits of silver are fitted to the ankle bones, to defend that prominent and tender part. These defences are called *αργυροσφυρα*. I conceive, that they were used by the ancients, and that Homer alludes to them, when he says:—

Κνημιδας μεν πρωια περι κνημισιν εδυκε  
Καλας, αργυρεοισιν επισφυριοις αρασιας.

*Σφυριον* is the ankle bone; and *επισφυρα* may mean ankle guards. *Κνημιδες* were of metal. Hesiod mentions some of brass; and Homer, of tin. Lanzi gives us an engraving of a Cameo, where Achilles is seen putting on his *κνημιδας*, which were open behind, and defended the leg as far up as the knee. Some have been

his spear from the case,\* and his charioteer being already in his seat, he mounted the chariot. These chariots were so light, that Eumelus could draw his without assistance; and Diomede thought of carrying off the chariot of Rhesus with his armour, on his shoulders.† Horses were not shod for many ages after.‡

A sling is only twice mentioned in Homer. It was used as a bandage, and as an ordinary weapon

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found near Naples, of pliable bronze; open behind, and closed by the elasticity of the metal, without being fastened. Some of the same kind were found near the Thrasymene lake.

The Arnauts carry a cutlass and a dagger, or knife, (as the Highlanders wear a dirk,) still called *μαχαιρα*; used both in war, and for domestic purposes. In Plutarch, Thescus is said to draw his machaira to carve his meat with.—See Dodwell's Greece, I. p. 133, &c.

\* Συργξ. † Τψος αερας. ‡ Χαλκω δηιοωντες (Il. xi. 153.) refers to *ιππεις*, and the preceding clause may be taken as a parenthesis, notwithstanding Eustathius, Damm, Dacier, and Spondanus. It is so understood by Clarke and others. The verb occurs in a great variety of places, and always signifies to slay, never to strike the ground. Χαλκοποδες is a much stronger expression in favour of shoeing; and yet is interpreted even by Damm, to signify only as strong as brass, like Virgil's Cervam *Æripedem*. The shoeing of horses appears not to have been practised in the times of Alexander, nor even of Mithridates.—See Mitford's Greece, ii. 498. Diod. Sicul. xvii. Appian de B. M.—Judges v. 22.—See Hesiod, (Scutum, 61—62—67.) for Χθονα εκλυπον—νυσσοντες χηλησι, scil:—ιπποι—& χαλκω δηιωσειν, scil:—Διος οιον.

of the Locri, and made of the finest wool.\* Arms and armour were chiefly of brass or bronze, with some iron and tin, and ornaments of gold and silver.

The event of a battle seems to have depended chiefly on the prowess of the generals, who fought as champions; and destroyed the common men without resistance, till they met with a chief of the opposite army, with whom they engaged in single combat. How the privates were employed on these occasions is not well explained. In modern times, before the use of fire arms, war was conducted nearly in the same manner. The nobles advanced, not in regular order; but in any way pleasing to themselves. The chiefs fought like common soldiers; and, like Arithous, with his iron club, made dreadful havock with their battleaxes and leaden maces, “crushing helmets, and disbraining heads.” They often advanced before the line, made speeches, held dialogues, and tilted with the lords and captains of the hostile army, and were sometimes separated by great bodies meeting where they fought. The archers were sometimes ranged in front, and began the battle; sometimes were stationed in the rear. The battalions opened and let them advance to the front, where they began the battle. Battalions advanced against battalions, “pushing with shoulders and breasts, like enraged wild boars.” They were so

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\* II. xiii. 600—716.

firmly interlaced, that the ranks could not be broken; nor could “an apple fall to the ground for helmets and lances.” “The clattering on the helmets was so loud, that nothing else could be heard; as if all the armourers of Paris and Brussels were working at their trade.” The chiefs were often overthrown; and no one could assist them, nor could they rise, on account of their armour and the crowd. There was alternate taking of prisoners, rescuing, ransoming, and giving of pledges continually. These are some of the circumstances of resemblance, that occur in Froissart. The chief difference consisted in the use of chariots by the ancient heroes, and of horses by the modern knights.

The third office of a king was to preside at the rites of religion. These consisted of prayers and sacrifices; and though these are minutely explained in Potter, and other books of antiquities, it may not be unacceptable to the reader, to insert an abridgment of the most circumstantial description of a sacrifice, that occurs in Homer.\* It was celebrated by Nestor on the arrival of Telemachus. Having sent to the ship for the attendants of his guest, and to the field for an ox, and ordered the maid-servants to prepare the entertainment within, Nestor proceeded to the sacrifice. The assistants were all ready: the ox came from the field: the crew arrived from

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\* Od. iii. 430.

the ship; and the goldsmith\* attended with his implements of brass, a small anvil, a hammer, and forceps. Nestor furnished the gold; and the goldsmith having prepared it, applied it to the horns. Two attendants led the ox: another came from the house, bringing water, for washing their hands, in a basin, covered with flowers: in the other hand he held the saltcakes:† a fourth, his own son, was prepared with a sharp axe to kill the ox, and a fifth held a vessel to receive the blood. Nestor began the ceremony by presenting the water and the sacred cakes, offering prayers to Minerva, cutting the hair from the head of the victim, and throwing it into the fire. After they had prayed, and presented the barley cakes, the son of Nestor struck the victim on the neck, and cut through the tendons. The ox fell, and all the women of the family raised a shout. The men lifted the carcase from the ground, held it up, and drew back its head, till one of their chief men cut its throat. They then proceeded to strip off the hide, and cut the carcase asunder. They cut out the thighs, and rolled them in fat; and upon these they laid other pieces, which they sprinkled with meal and wine.‡ Nestor applied fire to the billets of cleft wood, and poured wine on the whole. The young men stood beside him, holding five-pronged forks. After the thighs were consumed, and they

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\* Χαλκευς. † See Levit. ii. 13. ‡ Od. xiv. 429.—Il. i. 462.

had tasted the entrails, they cut the remainder into small pieces, fixed them on spits, and roasted them at the fire. When the youngest of Nestor's daughters had bathed and dressed Telemachus, Nestor took his seat with his young friend beside him; and they partook of an entertainment, consisting of roasted flesh, and wine, which was served by the principal servants. They had also a custom of cutting out the tongues of the victims, and burning them; offering, at the same time, libations of wine to the gods, before they retired to rest.\*

This may suffice for their sacrificial rites. I shall now briefly mention their opinions on subjects connected with religion.

Notwithstanding the whimsical figure, that Jupiter makes on many occasions, and the indignities to which we were obliged to submit, he was endued with many respectable attributes. He was thought to be omniscient, omnipresent, and invisible, and to exercise a superintending providence.† Justice was another attribute of Jupiter, chiefly exercised against perjured men, corrupt judges, and violators of hospitality, and even their posterity. He is also represented as showing equal favour to those who regard their oaths, and to their children, agreeably to the divine law:‡ adulterers, defrauders of orphans,

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\* Od. iii. 332. † Works and Days, 267—281—333. ‡ Exod. xx. 5.

and undutiful children, were particular objects of his vengeance. Men hated by the gods were to be driven from society.\* The instrument of his avenging providence was his thunderbolt. Violent convulsions were ascribed to the same cause, particularly deluges.† He is also represented as punishing whole nations by famine and pestilence, the barrenness of women, and the destruction of families, and even of armies, fleets and fortifications.‡

Fear of the gods, therefore, is frequently inculcated throughout Homer and Hesiod;§ and respect for oaths is the duty most strictly insisted upon. The form of a solemn oath may be seen in the Iliad:|| and in another place, we have an oath at a horse race.¶ Menelaus requires Antilochus to swear, that he had not used foul play. He was to stand before his horses and chariot, holding the whip, which he had carried in the race; to touch the horses with it, and then to swear by Neptune, who was reckoned the patron of horses, because they were imported into Greece by sea, from Egypt.

The ministers of providence were sometimes the gods themselves, either in their proper character, or in a human form,\* which they assumed, to inspect the affairs of men, and punish the violent and law-

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\* Od. x. 72. † Il. xvi. 387. ‡ Works and Days, 240. § Il. xvii. 98. || Il. xix. 250. ¶ Il. xxiii. 580. \* Od. xvii. 485: vii. 201.

less. Hesiod says, there are also thirty thousand immortals continually passing through the earth, though invisible,\* guardians of mortal men. These were the men of the golden age, who, after death, were made immortal, and appointed to watch over the conduct of men, and to punish and reward them as they deserved.† Beside these were the Parcæ,‡ who were innumerable, and Nemesis. These, and others enumerated by Hesiod, were the offspring of night.§ These evil spirits, under the three principal fates, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, inflicted misery on wretched mortals: he gives a horrible description of them in the Shield of Hercules. (249) They are the chief instruments of vengeance, and ministers of good, and are said to afflict gods as well as mortals; (220) and in particular, to aggravate the horrors and cruelties of war. The chief fates spun a thread for every man when born, which determined the length and character of his life.|| The inferior Parcæ¶ seem to have been ministers chiefly of calamity, and to have been assigned to individuals.\* Demon is used in a better sense; it sometimes signifies any divine power; at others, an inferior spirit, good or evil, subordinate to the gods† The adjective,‡ therefore, is used in both senses, and signifies

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\* Works and Days, 252 † Works and Days, 120 and 252.

‡ Κῆρες. § Theog. 217, &c. || Od. vii. 197. ¶ Κῆρες. \* Od. xi. 279. † Od. v. 394. ‡ Δαιμογότες.

either infatuated, or influenced by some amiable or evil propensity.

It is not easy to form any clear idea of the power of fate or destiny\* from these poets. Neptune is anxious for the rescue of *Æneas*; yet, he says, it was his destiny to escape, and continue the royal family.† In other places, there is a great apprehension, lest things should happen contrary to fate. Notwithstanding this, Minerva says, that the gods themselves cannot save a man, however dear to them, when fate shall call him away.‡ Again, it is elsewhere said, that what shall happen to every man is arranged by the fates at his birth, though his fate may be deferred for a season.§ Hector consoles Andromache by saying, that no man can deprive him of life, till his time come, and that then nothing can save him, whether he be a brave man or a coward. Prophets could foresee the fates of their friends, but not so as to avert them; and in general could foretel future events by prophecy or dreams.||

I believe, we have no description of their temples, or of the statues of the gods, except Minerva in the Acropolis; nor indeed of any other images, except figures holding lamps in the palace of Alcinous, and the automatons formed by Vulcan. To the temples were annexed glebe lands.¶ They also worshipped

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\* *Μοίρα*. † Il. xx. 300. ‡ Od. iii. 236. § Il. xx. 125.

|| Il. ii. 830: i. 62. ¶ *Τεμενος*.

in consecrated groves, and on Ida, and other high places, like the Canaanites.\* The Phœacians had a temple dedicated to Neptune, in the middle of the market square or forum;† and in Ithaca we meet with a circular grove, a sacred fountain, and an altar, at which all travellers sacrificed.‡ But, except the instance of the offering to Minerva, there is no allusion, I believe, to idolatry.

Their priests and priestesses were often of high rank, and royal descent; and those mentioned by name were married. Theano was sister to Hecuba, and wife to Antenor, and seems to have been elected priestess of Minerva by the Trojans.§ Beside sacrifices, they offered rich garments to the gods, as Hecuba spread a choice robe on the knees of Minerva; whence we may suppose, she was in a sitting posture. They also regaled them with the odour of sacrifices, and other scents: but frankincense was not in use.|| They did not explore futurity by inspecting the entrails, but by dreams and the flight of birds; and Hector disclaims any attention to these omens, when they discouraged him from fighting for his country.

They washed their hands, and even their clothes, before they performed divine service;¶ and thought it impious to approach the gods with hands defiled

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\* Il. xxii. 170. † Od. vi. 266. ‡ Od. xvii. 205. § Il. vi. 298. || Plin. Nat. Hist. xiii. 1. ¶ Il. ix. 171.—Od. iv. 750.

with blood.\* They decorated their temples with various ornaments, and enriched them with offerings, particularly the spoils of their enemies.† An ox was a perfect and acceptable victim at five years old, a heifer at one.‡

I believe, it is impossible to extract from these authors any consistent theory concerning the soul of man, or to ascertain the distinct meaning of the words used on this subject. Achilles, seeing Patroclus in a dream or vision, says—"Surely the Simulachrum or shade,§ and the life or soul|| continue even in the house of Pluto; but they have no vitals,¶ heart, or corporeal organ of life." Ulysses conversed with the shade\* of Hercules, in the infernal regions; but Hercules himself† was enjoying the society of heaven. He also saw Orion hunting the same beasts that he had slain on earth, their shades,‡ no doubt, which consequently enjoyed an existence after death. He saw and conversed with the shade§ of his mother. He was recognized also by the soul|| of Achilles. After their conversation, the soul¶ of Achilles stalked away, proud of the fame of his son.\*

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\* Il. vi. 266. † Il. i. 39: vii. 83.—1 Sam. xxii. 9. ‡ See Exod. xii. 5.—Il. ii. 403. § Εἰδωλον, || Ψυχή. ¶ Φρενες. \* Εἰδωλον. † Αὐλος. ‡ Εἰδωλα. § Εἰδωλον. || Ψυχή. ¶ Ψυχή. \* Αἰων is sometimes synonymous with Ψυχή, life, both in Homer and Hesiod. (Il. xvi. 453.—Shield 331.) Θυμος generally signifies the will or heart, and φρενες the understanding;

Menelaus was not to die, but to be sent directly to the Elysian Plain.\* The suitors after death, conducted by Mercury, passed the ocean, the white rock, the gates of the sun, and the country of dreams; and at last arrived in the Asphodel meadow; where, notwithstanding their infamous conduct, they met all the heroes, with whom Ulysses had conversed.† Other particulars of infernal topography may be seen in the tenth Odyssey. (508)

Among their superstitious notions which abound in Hesiod, sneezing was reckoned a good omen;‡ and incantations, a styptic for a wound.§

It is very observable, that there is no such deity as Cupid, the son of Venus, nor Fortune, mentioned by Homer; nor, I think, by Hesiod. Love|| occurs once in Hesiod, among the primeval causes of things, but without the usual attributes of Cupid. He seems to be of a later date, as many other heathen fictions were. Fortune¶ is to be met with only once; and that in the first hymn to Pallas, (5) and there it signifies success.

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but sometimes they are synonymous, at others distinguished; as *εἰ πλούτου θύμος εἰλιθεῖας εν φρεσὶ σησι.*—Works and Days, 381. & *εν φρεσὶ θύμος—ένι φρεσὶ θύμον εχούσες.*—*ηλος εν φρεσὶ,* where *φρενες* signifies the bosom. In the same sense it is said of Vulcan's automatons, *τῆς εν μεν νοος εστι μελα φρεσιν.*—Il. xviii. 419: and *ει φρενα θύμος αγερθη.*—Od. v. 458. See also Il. xvi. 481.

\* Od. iv. 565. † Od. xxiv. 1. ‡ Od. xvii. 540. § Od. xix. 457. || Ερως. ¶ Τυχη.

We have several examples of private prayer. Penelope, mourning for the absence of Telemachus, having bathed, and changed her dress, ascended her chamber, with her maids, put the sacred cakes or flour into a basket, and prayed to Minerva. Again; she sat up in her bed, and after relieving her mind by tears, she prayed to Diana.\* Telemachus, in his perplexity, withdrew to the shore, washed his hands in the sea, and prayed to Minerva.† Ulysses, also, retired to a place sheltered from the wind, washed his hands, and prayed to all the gods.‡

On the whole, their religion was distinguished by purity and truth, elegance and sentiment, when contrasted with the cruel and licentious superstitions of later times, and more polished nations. If we except the sacrifice of twelve young Trojans at the funeral pile of Patroclus, there is no mention of human victims, that I recollect; and this, with the outrage committed on the corpse of Hector,§ is reprobated by Homer, who indeed always expresses his disgust at the savage and unrelenting temper of his hero. The story of Iphigenia is a fiction of later times.

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\* Od. iv. 759 : xx. 59. † Od. ii. 260. ‡ Od. xii. 334—338.

§ Il. xxiii. 24—175.

SECTION V.  
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## PRIVATE LIFE AND MANNERS.

THE habits and arts of domestic life and civil society are so much diversified, and so little connected, that it is not easy to find a clew to guide one through the labyrinth. Mine shall be the progress of man from his birth to his burial. I shall then subjoin an account of such customs or inventions, as may not have found a place in this detail.

In the hymn to Apollo we have the following account of child-birth. (18—115) When labour pains seized Latona, she threw her arms round a palm-tree, and rested her knees on the soft grass: the ground smiled beneath, and Apollo sprang to light. All the goddesses shouted aloud: they bathed him in clear water; and swaddled him in a fine, new white cloth, with a golden band. In another place,\* the birth of a child is described by falling between

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\* Il. xix. 110.

his mother's feet. The same expression occurs in Scripture—"Her young one, that cometh out from between her feet."\* Apollo was not suckled by his mother, but fed by Themis with nectar and ambrosia; and in general it appears, that children were sometimes nursed by hirelings or slaves, as Ulysses was.† Cradles, I believe, are never mentioned.

The name was given by the parents, sometimes by the mother alone.‡ In the case of Arnaeus, perhaps the father was not to be found. He was better known by the name Irus, given him by the young men.§ Euryclea the nurse, or Anticlea, the mother of Ulysses, placed Telemachus on his grandfather's knees, and asked him to give the name: and he desired the father and mother to give him one, which he recommended.|| Leah and Rachel gave names to all their sons.¶ In this, as in many other cases, that occur in Scripture, they were influenced by some circumstance relating to the birth of the child, or to the parents. In like manner, Hector called his son Scamandrius; but the people, Astyanax, in honour of his father.\* The names of the Grecian heroes were only titles or historical appellations, which seem to have superseded those given by their parents. This is not so observable among the Trojans, though Priam is a remarkable instance to the contrary, having two such appellations, Podarces for his fleetness,

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\* Deut. xxviii. 57. † Od. xix. 482. ‡ Od. xviii. 5. § Od. xviii. 5, 6. || Od. xix. 402. ¶ Gen. xxix. 32: xxx. 23. \* Il. vi. 402.

and Priam as a ransomed captive. This was not the case in earlier times with the first colonizers of Greece; but the practice, once commenced, seems to have continued among the Greeks, even in the days of Themistocles, Aristides, Pericles, Demosthenes, and Sophocles. The same custom obtained very generally among the Hebrews. Of this kind are Jehoiakim and Zedekiah.\* We are told, that it prevails among some barbarous people in Africa; thus a child is called Karfa, *to replace*, being born after the death of his brother. The Shoshonee Indians give names to their children, but afterwards adopt others, in consequence of some exploit, or other trait of character; and again superadd others according to circumstances; and the same practice exists among the people of Barbary.

Andromache, on her way to the Scæan gate, was attended by a nurse, carrying her child.† Hector took him from the nurse, and after fondling and blessing him, placed him in the bosom of his mother. These endearments, on the part of the father, are often mentioned by Homer. From infancy to puberty, there is little recorded, or worthy to be recorded in the life of man; nor do I recollect any thing relative to the treatment or education of children, during this period, except the speech of Phœnix to Achilles.‡ He reminds him of his care of him in

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\* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4; and 2 Kings xxiv. 17. † Il. vi. 399. ‡ Il. ix. 481.

his childhood; how dearly he loved him; and how Achilles would not take his food, unless he placed him on his knees, cut his meat, and gave him his drink; how often he stained his tunic, throwing up his wine in helpless infancy; and how much he had laboured and endured to make him a great man, an eloquent orator, and a performer of noble actions. He appears to have acted as private tutor to the young prince, and is the only one mentioned in our account of those times, if we except Chiron, who is said to have instructed Achilles in surgery.\* The season of youth was probably spent in rural sports, and warlike exercises. The earliest instance of youthful vigour and independent exertion, is the voyage of Telemachus in quest of his father. A brief account of this expedition may relieve the tediousness and incoherence of our subject, and introduce some circumstances, that might either escape our notice, or not find a suitable place hereafter. It is with regret, that I shall abridge this beautiful and interesting narrative, abounding in displays of dignity and magnanimity, munificence and hospitality, on the part of the aged kings, and of modesty and filial piety in the young prince, with a noble courtesy and morality in all, far beyond our expectations from that age; but the nature of my plan, and the limits of this dissertation, will allow me only to

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\* Il. xi. 831.

make use of the outline of the narrative, to connect those traits of ancient manners, which I have undertaken to delineate.\*

Telemachus was born shortly before his father embarked for Troy, and left under the care of his mother and Mentor, a friend of Ulysses; and attended by his father's nurse, who had the care of the house, and was apparently entrusted with the early instruction of Telemachus. He was now about twenty years old, and yet she still saw him to bed.† She carried lights before him, and opened the chamber door: he sat on the bed, took off his tunic, and gave it to the old woman, who folded it carefully, and hung it on a peg, near the bed: she then left the room, shut the door, and shot the bolt with the strap or thong. In the morning, he determined, if possible, to prevail on the suitors to quit his house, and return to their own homes, and for this purpose ordered the heralds to call an assembly of the people. With his sword slung over his shoulder, and his spear, as a sceptre,‡ in his hand, he seated himself in his father's chair, attended by two dogs.§ His appearance excited general admiration, and the old men gave way to him. “The aged arose, and stood up.” He reproached the suitors with not applying to the father of Penelope, and treating with him for the

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\* See Od. i. ii. iii. iv. and xv. † Od. i. 431. ‡ Od. ii. 80.

§ Od. ii. 11.

nuptial presents, which he would expect for his daughter; but, under pretext of courtship, living riotously in his house. He then threw his sceptre on the ground, and burst into tears. The suitors replied, that she put them off from day to day, pretending that she was weaving a sepulchral garment for Laertes, and that she would be reckoned infamous by the women, if she suffered the old king to die and be buried, before she finished it; but, in fact, they had discovered, that she undid by night what she wrought by day. They, therefore, required, that Telemachus should dismiss her from his house, and advise her to marry whomsoever her father desired, and she chose. Telemachus objected, that if he put his mother away, he would be obliged to return her portion to her father, and would incur the vengeance of the gods and furies, the imprecations of his mother, and the reproaches of all men. The suitors rejoined, that if he would send her away, they would then treat with her father, and make him such presents, as he would have a right to expect. In this sense I understand the argument, preserving Homer's signification of the word\* throughout, as a gift from a suitor to the father of the bride. Telemachus finally proposed, that they should furnish him with a ship, and that he should visit Sparta and Pylos, and inquire of Nestor and Menelaus, whether Ulys-

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\* Εὖα.

ses were alive. If so, he would wait, and bear with them for one year: otherwise, he would return immediately, perform funeral rites to his father, and let his mother marry.

The assembly being hastily dissolved, he proceeded to a store-room, where there was gold and silver and brass heaped up, and chests of clothes and fragrant oil, with jars\* of delicious old wine, arranged along the wall; reserved for the return of Ulysses, after all his toils. The folding doors were barred, and the old nurse had charge of the whole. He ordered her immediately to fill twelve two-handled jars with wine, and close them with stoppers, and to stow twenty measures of flour in leather bags well sewed. She was to keep these orders secret: and in the evening when his mother had retired to her chamber, he would take the provisions, and sail for Sparta and Pylos, to inquire for his father. Meanwhile he provided a galley with a trusty crew, and having taken his provisions on board, set sail for Pylos. He found Nestor with his sons feasting on the shore. There were nine companies of fifty persons each, and nine oxen allotted to each company. After furling the sails by drawing them up,† and lodging the vessel in the dock, Telemachus and Minerva, who accompanied him under the figure of Mentor, advanced. After they had prayed,

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\* Ηλιόι. † Αειγανθές.

offered a libation to Neptune, and partaken of the entertainment, Nestor inquired, who they were, whence they came, and, in particular, whether they were traders, or wandering pirates, exposing their own lives, and bringing misfortunes upon others. Such questions were never asked, till strangers had shared the rites of hospitality. Jobates did not ask to see the token,\* or to be informed of the errand of Bellerophon, till he had entertained him for nine days. Telemachus opened his business, and learned from the old king all he knew about the princes, who had returned from Troy; and among the rest, the murder of Agamemnon; with this addition, that Clytemnestra could not be seduced, till *Ægysthus* had banished the bard, to whose care she had been committed. This is one of several instances, in which Homer embraces an opportunity of praising his own profession. Of Ulysses Nestor could give no satisfactory account, having returned by a different route, in consequence of a dissension, occasioned by a council, which Agamemnon had imprudently convened in the evening, when they were heated with wine. He, therefore, referred him to Menelaus. Minerva now suggested the propriety of retiring to rest, after cutting out and burning the tongues of the victims, as it was not decent to sit too long at a sacred feast. Accordingly, after the heralds had

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\* Il. vi. 176.

poured water on their hands, mixed a vase of wine, and handed the goblets round, from right to left, as usual, they threw the tongues into the fire, offered a libation, and were preparing to return to the ship, but Nestor warmly remonstrated against this proposal, and insisted on their lodging in his house. Minerva, however, pretending that she had to demand payment of a debt, due in a distant country, took her departure. On their return to the palace, the housekeeper loosed the band\* from a wine vessel, and Nestor mixed the wine with water in a vase, made a libation to Minerva, and dismissed the company to bed. Pisistratus, his son, took charge of Telemachus, and they lay under an echoing portico.† Nestor and his wife slept in the interior of the house. At sunrise, Nestor, with his sceptre in his hand, took his place on a seat of polished white stone, and shining with oil, before the gate, on which his father had sat, after the manner of the Jewish kings,‡ who administered justice in the gate of the palace or the city. His sons gathered round him, and Pisistratus introduced Telemachus, and seated him beside the king. They then celebrated the sacrifice, of which I have given a full account already, (p. 138.) When this was concluded, Nestor ordered his sons to yoke the chariot for Telemachus, and Pisistratus to conduct him to Lacedæmon; his housekeeper having first stored the carriage with bread and wine, and deli-

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\* Κρηδεμνον. † Εριγδουπω. ‡ 2 Sam. xix. 8.

cacies fit for kings. They arrived there on the second day, having slept at the house of Diocles, at Pheræ.

Menelaus they found celebrating a festival on the marriage of his son Megapenthes, and on sending his daughter Hermione to Pyrrhus, to whom she was betrothed. The company were amusing themselves with a minstrel\* playing on a harp, and two tumblers, when the strangers arrived. Their arrival was announced by an attendant, who asked, whether he should unyoke the horses, or send them forward to some other entertainer; for which he received a severe rebuke from Menelaus, who immediately hastened to the door, and ordered the carriage to be put up, and the horses fed with barley and spelt mixed. After they had viewed and admired the splendour of the palace, they bathed, and the maid-servants washed and anointed them. They then took their seats beside Menelaus, and a maid-servant poured water from an ewer into a basin, that they might wash their hands. A polished table was set before them, and the cook or carver served up meat of various kinds, with bread. Menelaus then apprised them, that after they had eaten, he would inquire, who they were; for he suspected they were of royal descent. He accordingly took up in his hands the chine, that had been laid before himself, as due to his rank, and placed it

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\* *Λοιδός.*

before them; and they, without further ceremony, also seized it in their hands. Before he had an opportunity of questioning them, Helen entered the room. Adrasta immediately set a couch for her; Alcippe spread a soft carpet or rug on the back of the couch; and Phyle brought her work-basket and a golden distaff, each filled with fine violet coloured wool. This basket was a present from an Egyptian lady, whose husband also gave Menelaus two silver lavers for bathing, two tripods, and ten talents. The basket was of silver, rounded below; above, it was edged with gold. Placing her feet on a footstool, she began to spin with a spindle and distaff. She immediately observed the likeness of Telemachus to Ulysses, which had escaped Menelaus, who had been his companion for so many years, notwithstanding the extraordinary emotion that Telemachus had betrayed when he spoke of his father. As soon, however, as his wife pointed it out, Menelaus discovered it in every limb and feature. Helen observing, that the conversation which ensued was too affecting, infused into their wine a drug, called *Nepenthe*, which she had received from a woman in Egypt. This drug is supposed by some to have been a preparation of opium; others would reduce this celebrated name to a mere adjective, agreeing with the drug,\* and implying, that it was a dispeller

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\* Φαρμακον.

of grief, while some of the ancients, with more politeness and gallantry, will have it to be the witty and animating conversation of the lady. Such, however was its potency, that he who swallowed it would not, for a whole day, drop a tear, though his father and mother died, and his brother or son were killed before his eyes.

Telemachus at length wished to retire for the night; and Helen ordered her maids to prepare a bed in the portico. They accordingly brought out a bedstead,\* and made up a bed. Their bedding consisted of sheep-skins with the wool,† blankets,‡ sheets of fine linen,§ purple coverlets,|| and quilts with the nap.¶ The bottom of the bedstead was corded with straps of leather, passed through holes in the sides and ends.\* The maids prepared the bed; but an herald conducted them to it.

At a subsequent interview, Menelaus pressed his young friend to spend eleven or twelve days with him; when he would send him away, with a present of three horses and a chariot, and a beautiful cup, with which he might make libations as a token of remembrance, all his days. Telemachus excused himself from accepting the horses, which, though

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\* Δεινία. † Κωα. ‡ Ταπηλας. § Δινοιο λεπτον αωλον.  
 || Ρηγεα καλα πορφυρεα. ¶ Χλανας ουλας.—Il. ix. 656: xxiv. 644. Od. iv. 297: xiii. 73. \* Ανγκεα ιερτα.—Od. xxiii. 198: vii. 345.

valuable in the fruitful plains of Lacedaemon, would be useless in Ithaca, which was mountainous, and not abounding with food for cattle. When at last Telemachus determined to return, and had given Menelaus sufficient reasons for his haste, the Spartan king told him, that, since he was resolved, he would not detain him; for he thought one might be too pressing, as well as too negligent in such cases, and that the true rule of hospitality was, to “Welcome the coming, speed the parting guest.”\* He only requested, that he would stay till he had ordered breakfast, and put his intended presents into the chariot. He also proposed, that if he wished to make a tour of Hellas or Argos, he would be his conductor, and introduce him to the princes of the country, who would not let him depart without suitable presents, a tripod, or a vase,† a pair of mules, or a golden cup. On his declining this offer, Menelaus immediately ordered his wife and servants to prepare breakfast.‡ The cook was roused from his bed, and ordered to kindle a fire, and roast the meat. He, with Helen and his son, proceeded to a chamber, from which they brought a double goblet, shaped perhaps like an hour glass,§ a vase for mixing wine and water,|| and a beautiful robe from the wardrobe of Helen. Wishing him a prosperous

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\* Χρηξεινον παρεοντα φιλειν, εθελοντα δε πεμπειν.—Od. xv. 74.  
 † Λεσηλα. ‡ Δειπνον. § Δεπας αιφικυπελλον. || Κρητηρα.

journey, Menelaus presented his gifts, which he himself had received from the king of Sidon, on his return from Troy. Helen requested him to accept of the robe, as a token of her friendship, and to keep it for his future wife. They then partook of an entertainment in the usual form, the meat being carved by the same person, who had dressed it.

When at length the chariot came to the door, Menelaus stood before the horses with a cup of wine, as a libation to the gods; and requested them to make his acknowledgments to Nestor, for his paternal care and tenderness, while they were at Troy. Telemachus promised to attend to this, and also to make Ulysses acquainted with the hospitality and liberality, with which he had been treated. As they were on the point of departure, an omen appeared in the sky; and while Menelaus was pondering how it should be interpreted, Helen assured Telemachus, that it predicted, that his father would return, and take vengeance on the suitors. They then returned, as they came, till they approached Pylos, when Telemachus entreated Pisistratus to stop at the ship, lest Nestor should detain him; assuring him at the same time, that as they were friends in consequence of the friendship of their fathers, so their affection would be more strongly cemented by their intercourse on this journey. After consideration, Pisistratus approved of his plan, and advised him to set sail immediately, or Nestor would soon be there to detain him. Thus they parted.

To these mild and elegant manners it is a strange

and disgusting contrast, to hear Ulysses boasting, at the table of Alcinous, of having treacherously assassinated a young prince, the son of Idomeneus. He was not ashamed to tell that polite and magnificent king, that in consequence of a dispute about the plunder brought from Troy, he had waylaid, and murdered the young man coming from the country by night; and had then taken refuge on board a Phenician ship. 'Tis true, this was all a fiction, but it was invented as a recommendation to the court of Phæacia, where he was unknown, except by this infamous story.\*

Homer has been ridiculed, and even his sobriety impeached, both by ancients and moderns, for his frequent descriptions of feasts. There is, perhaps, no part of his works, in which these occur oftener, than in that which has now passed under our review. It will not, therefore, be unseasonable to take this opportunity to give some account of these entertainments.

There are three meals mentioned in Homer† supposed to correspond with breakfast, dinner, and supper; but this order is frequently confounded; and it has been observed, that no character in Homer eats three times in one day: for the words translated breakfast and dinner, sometimes express the same meal. On the visit of Telemachus to Menelaus, however, they seem to have partaken of two evening repasts.‡ There is also an expression at

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\* Od. xiii. 265. † *Αριστον, δειπνον, δορπος.* ‡ Od. iv. 60—56—218.

the conclusion of the seventeenth book of the *Odyssey*, (559)\* on which the ancients, as well as the moderns, are divided; some understanding it as signifying an additional meal; others taking it in a different sense. Their opinions may be seen in Clarke's and Pope's notes. The materials were generally the same, beef, mutton, goat's flesh, and pork,† with bread and wine. The meat was generally roasted or broiled; sometimes boiled, and sometimes both boiled and roasted. Thus, Homer compares the boiling of Xanthus to a pot containing a fat pig;‡ thus too, one of the suitors at an entertainment, threw the foot of an ox (which could not be roasted) at Ulysses; and lastly, the boiling and roasting of the same meat are mentioned§ in the account of the entertainment given by Achilles to the deputies from the fleet, which is, at the same time, the most particular account of cookery, that occurs in Homer. Patroclus placed a large pot|| on a blazing fire; in it he put the backs or loins of a sheep and a goat, and the chine of a fat boar. Automedon held them to Achilles; and he divided them. He then cut them into smaller pieces, and fixed them on spits. These were sometimes of wood.¶ Meanwhile Patroclus kindled a fire, and when it was burned down, and the blaze was fallen, he spread the embers, and

\* Συ δ' ερχεσθαι δειελυησας. † Od. xiv. 17. ‡ Il. xxi. 362.

§ Il. ix. 205. || Κρειον. ¶ Ode to Mercury, 116.

held the spits over them. Having raised them from the andirons,\* he sprinkled the flesh with salt, laid it on the dresser,† and served it up in beautiful baskets or dishes;‡ and Achilles distributed the portions. The meat was always carved, or divided into these portions, before it was served up.

Thus Clarke understands the passage, and takes no notice of any difficulty. It is proper, however, to observe, that according to Damm, the word translated a pot§ signifies a chopping block; but he does not explain, how it could be placed on a blazing fire.|| Athenæus and Feithius interpret it as Clarke. On the other hand, we meet with a passage in Plato's Republic,¶ in which he alleges, that Homer never feeds his heroes with fish or boiled meat, but only with roast; because fires might be had every where, but it would be troublesome to carry about with them their vessels for cooking. On one occasion we meet with saussages, or blood-puddings.\*

These are the only kinds of fleshmeat commonly used by the heroes at Troy; but, on some occasions,

\* Κρατευταν. † Ελεοισι. ‡ Κανεοισι.—Il. xi. 629.

§ Κρειον. || Εν πυρος αυγη. ¶ III. p. 621.—Επι στρατιας, εν ταις των ήρωων έστιασεσι, οὐλεις ιχθυσιν αὐλους εστιά (Ομηρος)——οὐλεις εφδοις κρεαπιν, αλλα μονου οπλοις, πανταχου γαρ αὐλω τω πυριχριδαι ευπορωλερον, η αγγεια συμπεριφερειν.

\* Od. xviii. 44.—Γαστερεις αιγων——κνισσης και αιματος εμπλησσαντες.

venison was served up;\* fish and fowl never, though sometimes eaten through necessity;† and yet the Hellespont abounded with fish.‡ Though they had fruit trees in their gardens, we do not meet with fruit at their tables. The only kind of vegetables that occur are onions, and these in an extraordinary pos-  
set prepared for Nestor. A female captive set a table, with feet of an azure colour, well polished, and on it a brazen dish, in which were, as a relish to their wine, an onion, with some new, pale honey, and cakes of fine flour: she also placed on the table a beautiful gob-  
let, which an ordinary man could hardly raise, when full, with golden studs, and four ears, or handles, in the form of doves feeding, two doves to each handle, and two bottoms, probably a double cup,§ two of the ears perhaps to each cup. Into this she poured Pramnian wine, and grated cheese of goat's milk, sprinkled some flour|| over all, and encouraged them to drink, after she had prepared the mixture. Venus also reared the infant daughters of Pandarus on cheese, honey, and sweet wine: and Circe treated Ulysses to a draught like Nestor's, with an infusion of drugs, to make him forget his native country.¶

Beside their stated meals, they had other enter-  
tainments; sometimes by invitation;\* sometimes at

\* Od. ix. 155: x. 180. † Od. iv. 368: xii. 331. ‡ Il. ix. 360. § Αμφικυτελλον. || Il. xi. 629. ¶ Od. x. 234.

\* Ειλασπινη.

weddings;\* and again, club-dinners.† Hesiod has favoured us with his ideas of an agreeable banquet.‡ When the thistle and wild artichoke§ is in flower; and the grasshopper|| sitting on a tree, pours forth sweet music from under his wings; in the heat of the laborious summer, when goats are fattest; when Sirius (the sun) scorches the head, and relaxes the knees, and the body is exhausted with heat; then he would choose to sit under the shade of a rock, at a fast flowing, limpid spring, facing the fresh western breeze, and indulge in Byblian wine and curd,¶ milk of goats, that had weaned their young,\* and the flesh of a heifer fed in the woods,† that never had a calf, and firstling kids. But Priam reproaches his sons with extravagance and luxury, and particularly as public robbers of lambs and kids. Whence it has been concluded, that young animals were not commonly used for food. Ulysses thought music a great addition to a feast.‡ Their wine was red.§ They valued it for age, and had some eleven years old. Ulysses tells a wonderful story of wine,|| that took twenty waters, and still emitted a fragrant odour. Hesiod recommends three-fourths of water. They describe their wine as sweet, meaning, per-

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\* Γαμοι. † Εγανος. ‡ Works and Days, 590. § Σκολυμος. || Τελτιξ. ¶ Μαζα αμολγατ. \* Σεννυμεναων.—Non amplius lactantium, Grævius. † Τληφαιγοι. ‡ Od. ix. 7. § Αιδηψ, ευρυθρος. || Od. ix. 205.

haps, only pleasant or delicious; but they sometimes employ epithets, that may imply, sweetened with honey, or as sweet as honey.\* They are generally said to drink it out of silver; but once at least, from earthen ware.† It was kept in goat's skins and earthen jars; and at table it was mixed with water in the crater or vase; and then distributed to the company, in cups, by servants, and particularly by a cup-bearer.‡

They had neither knives nor forks, nor table-cloths, and therefore washed their hands before and after meals; a servant attending with water and napkins. Their tables were wiped with sponges after eating; and, when there was plenty of furniture, each guest had a separate table.§ Their seats were of different kinds, single like a chair,|| a sociable or sopha for two,¶ and a couch,\* probably better fitted

\* Μελιηδεα. † Il. ix. 465. ‡ Οινοχοος.

§ “The table was not anciently covered with linen, but carefully cleansed with wet sponges. Thus Arrian, *ἀργον τὰς τραπέζας, σπόλγισον*. And Martial:—

“Hæc tibi sorte datur tergendi spongia mensis.”

They made use of no napkins to wipe their hands, but the soft and fine part of the bread, which they called *απομαγδαλία*, which afterwards they threw to the dogs; this custom is mentioned in the Odyssey, lib. x. 217.”—Pope.

|| Θρονος. ¶ Διφηνος. \* Κλισμος, κλισιη.

for reclining. These had footstools, either separate or attached; but the indolent habit of reclining at meals did not exist in the heroic ages. When the company was numerous, the carver had a separate seat.\*

The most ceremonious reception of guests to be found in Homer, is that of Ulysses by Circe.† One of her maids spread rugs, and over them linen, on the couches; a second laid the tables and dishes before them; a third mixed wine in the crater; a fourth brought water, and kindled a fire under a tripod, to boil it. When the water was heated, and after placing him in the bath, she washed him with water out of the tripod, pouring it over his head and shoulders, and anointed him with oil. She then dressed him in a tunic and mantle,‡ set him on a chair with a footstool, poured water from a ewer to wash his hands, and laid the table, which the house-keeper furnished with viands of all kinds.

Another agreeable and interesting incident, that may help us forward in our progress through the several stages of life, is the adventure of Nausicaa, when she was surprised by Ulysses washing her clothes.§

Ulysses was thrown naked on the shore of Phæacia or Scheria, since called Coreyra and Corfu; and

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\* Διφρος.—Od. xvii. 330. † Od. x. 348. ‡ Χλανων.

§ Od. vi.

his patroness Minerva devised the following plan for his relief. While the king's daughter was sleeping in her chamber, attended by two maids, she swiftly approached her bed, like a breath of wind, and whispered in her ear, that as many of the Phœacian nobles were courting her, she might suddenly be called upon to choose a husband, and should be prepared for such an event; particularly by having all her clothes ready, both for herself and her attendants; and that she should therefore urge her father to order the waggon and the mules, to convey her and her wardrobe to the pool at the river. When the morning light awakened her, she wondered at her dream, and proceeded to inform her parents. She found her mother already sitting at the fire, with her maids spinning\* purple wool; and she met her father proceeding to the council with the princes of the land.† Being ashamed to tell the real cause of her application, she begged the use of the cart or waggon, to carry the clothes of the family to the river; his own, that he might appear with dignity in the assembly of the nobles, and those of his eight sons, that they might make a suitable appearance in the dance. He understood her meaning, and ordered the servants to prepare a carriage, with a body and seat.‡ She loaded the car with the clothes, and her mother provided her with a

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\* Αλιποργηφυα. † Κλειλους βασιληας. ‡ Υπερβεση αραγιαν.

chest, containing meat and dainties, and, what scandalizes the commentators, a skin of wine for the young ladies, with a cruet of oil to anoint themselves after their fatigue. When they had arrived at the perennial pools of overflowing water, they sent the mules to graze, and unloaded the car. They trampled the clothes with their feet in holes or cisterns,\* full of water, and, when they were quite clean, they spread them on the pebbly sea shore. While they were drying, the princess and her maids regaled themselves with the provisions and wine, and anointed themselves with the oil. They then untied their fillets, and amused themselves with tossing the ball, while Nausicaa led the song. Having now folded up the garments, and yoked the mules, they were on the point of leaving Ulysses sleeping on the bank of the river, when Minerva contrived, that the princess† should throw the ball at one of the maids. It missed her, and fell into the stream. The young women raised a shout, and wakened Ulysses. When he perceived his situation, he was not a little perplexed; at length, he broke off a shady branch to hide his person; and, in this trim, ventured to advance from the river. The young ladies were thrown into a fright, and ran to different points of the shore; but the daughter of Alcinous, with more dignity and presence of mind, awaited his approach. He then

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\* Il. xxii. 153. † Βασιλεία.

delivered a long speech, beginning with flattery, explaining his unhappy situation, begging some covering, and closing with prayers for her happiness in wedlock. She answered courteously, reproved her attendants, commanding them to conduct him to a sheltered place, and give him food, clothing, and oil. When they had done so, he requested them to remove to a distance, till he should wash and dress himself; for he could not do so in their presence, being ashamed to appear naked before such beautiful young women. After sometime, he came forth, by the help of Minerva, a perfect beauty, in so much, that Nausicaa began to wish for such a husband,\* who would be content to remain Phæacia, He appeared like a picture of gold, set in silver; “like apples of gold in pictures of silver.”† She then mounted the car, and ordered the company to follow. Ulysses was to halt at a grove near the town, till she had time to arrive at her father’s, lest she should suffer any scandal by returning, accompanied by the beautiful stranger. Having informed him, how he should conduct himself in the city, she proceeded alone. Her brothers were in attendance to take the mules from the car; while she proceeded to her chamber, and ordered her nurse to kindle a fire, and prepare her supper.‡

The custom of washing linen at fountains and rivers still continues in the east:—“The bed of the

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\* Od. vi. 211. † Prov. xxv. 11. ‡ Δορπον.

river was wide and strong, but had water in the cavities;\* at which many women, with their faces muffled, were washing linen, and spreading it on the ground to dry.”—(Dr. Chandler.) Of this kind were the pools, at the hot and cold springs of Troy, at which the Trojan women washed their clothes, before the city was besieged. It is also customary in some parts of Scotland and Ireland to trample linen in tubs.

Beside the general view of society, and the minute strokes of character, communicated by these episodes, we are led by the last to inquire into the laws of marriage, and the condition of women in those early ages.

Consanguinity was no obstacle to their union, except the relation of parent and child. There is one instance, but not among Homer’s characters, of a woman murdering her husband, and marrying her son. This atrocious and unnatural act, however, was severely punished by the gods.† There are frequent instances of the marriage of brothers and sisters, a nephew and aunt, and an uncle with a niece, as of Aleinous with Arete;‡ but as this was unavoidable in the family of Adam, so it would, for the same reason, and from habit, continue long, till neighbourhoods grew more populous. Children were disposed of by their parents, and it was disreputable,

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\* *Βολγούς*.—Homer. † Od. xi. 270. ‡ Od. vii. 64.

if not unlawful, to marry without their consent. Achilles objects to Agamemnon's offer of his daughter, because his father had selected a wife for him.\* Nausicaa censures any young woman, who should marry contrary to the will of her father and mother; and we have seen, that the suitors considered even Penelope as obliged to consult her father.

The father gave a portion to his daughter; and the bridegroom considerable presents to his spouse;† and also, it would appear, to her father, as we make settlements. The same custom prevailed among the Hebrews in the time of Jacob.‡ Polygamy perhaps made young women scarce, but it did not prevail among the Greeks. Andromache and Hecuba brought rich dowries; and Alcinous offered a portion to Ulysses with Nausicaa. In like manner, Agamemnon offered Achilles a large portion with his daughter. But Iphidamas purchased his wife at a high price.§

The wedding procession to the house of the bridegroom forms a department in the shield of Achilles. They led the bride from her chamber, as in the parable,|| with burning torches through the city, singing the Hymeneal song;¶ young dancers were wheeling in circles, with pipes and harps in the middle. As they passed, the matrons stood at their doors,

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\* Il. ix. 394. † Od. xix. 529. ‡ Gen. xxxiv. 11, 12. § Il. xi. 243. || Matt. xxv. ¶ Shield, 275.

admiring them.\* The female attendants went before, and the dancers followed.† The men played on pipes, and the women on harps. On these occasions, they took care to be particularly well dressed, and sometimes had a wedding garment for the purpose, with which the bride furnished her attendants.‡ The bride was often conveyed in a carriage.§ The young men frequently had to build houses, as must be the case in a new country.|| One who is killed in battle, is said to have left his house half finished.¶ By the Jewish law, this was humanely admitted as an excuse for declining the service. Hesiod thinks thirty the best age for a man to marry, and fifteen for a woman. Second marriages were allowed, but were disreputable on the part of the woman, particularly as they exposed their children by the first marriage to neglect.\* Agreeably to this, Ulysses allowed Penelope to marry, in case he did not return; but not till Telemachus was grown up.† On dissolution of marriage by the husband, the wife's dowry was restored:‡ but, if dissolved by death, or on the part of the woman, it remained. In case of adultery, the husband exacted a fine from the adulterer;§ and the father of the woman was obliged to

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\* Il. xviii. 490. † Shield, 278. ‡ Od. vi. 28: xxiii. 132. Matt. xxii. 12. § Λπηνη.—Shield, 273. || Od. xv. 241. ¶ Il. ii. 701. \* Od. xix. 530: xv. 21. † Od. xix. 524, &c. ‡ Od. ii. 132. § Μογαγεια.—Od. viii. 269—332.

restore the nuptial presents.\* The adulterer, and probably the adulteress, was also liable to be stoned, as by the Jewish law.†

Polygamy does not appear to have been practised by the Greeks; nor as far as I recollect, by the Trojans, except by Priam, who had other lawful wives, of royal rank, beside Hecuba. The principle, on which Achilles declined marrying a daughter of Agamemnon, implies, that he could not have more than one, and that his father had a right to choose for him. Their wives did not accompany them to Troy; but they kept their prisoners of war as concubines. These they seem to have treated with respect, as well as affection. Briseis, in particular, expected, through the friendship of Patroclus, to be married by Achilles.‡ The sons of concubines were reared like legitimate children; and sometimes were treated as such by the lawful wife; and inherited a small portion of the father's property: but their mothers were often the occasion of confusion and crimes in families.§

As to the condition and character of women, female slaves were very numerous, and of course occupied in servile employments, particularly in grinding at the querns or small mills for family use. For the occupations of those, who served in the house,

\* Od. viii. 318. † Il. iii. 57.—Deut. xxii. 22. ‡ Il. xix. 297.

§ Od. xiv. 202.—Il. viii. 284.

we may take the orders given by Euryclea for their morning's work as an example:\*

“Come, sweep the house, and sprinkle the floors; lay coverlets on the seats; sponge the tables; clean the plate and goblets. Some of you go to the spring for water, and bring it quickly:” Other offices of female servants have been mentioned already.

When Ulysses was going to embark, Arete, the wife of Alcinous, ordered her maids to attend him; one, to carry his cloak; another, his coat; a third his trunk; and a fourth, his sea-store. Faithful slaves often rose to consequence, especially nurses, like Euryclea, and had the management of the house. Many of them were employed in elegant works of weaving and embroidery for their mistresses; and these were favourite occupations of the ladies themselves. They were generally captives, and treated kindly; as appears by their lamentation for the dead, though under this pretence they sometimes mourned their own hard fate.† Beside these, there was a superior order,‡ who were employed about the persons of their mistresses. One servant acted as housekeeper,§ and had the care of the provisions. Laertes' housekeeper was a Sicilian.|| The cooks were always men. There were also different classes of men servants, both in country and in town. A common

\* Od. xx. 150. † Il. xix. 302. ‡ Αὐτίτολοι. § Ταῦμ.

|| Od. xxiv. 210.

house servant cleft dry wood, and heaped it on the fire; cut the carcases into joints, roasted them, and served wine. But some were fashionable and insolent; young men, elegantly dressed; with sleek heads, and beautiful faces; living at tables well supplied with bread and flesh meat, and abundance of wine.\*

Women of superior rank appear to me to have enjoyed a better situation, than could be expected in a state of society so rude in many other respects; to have conducted themselves with delicacy and dignity, and to have been amiable, industrious, and accomplished. In the *Iliad*, *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Theano*, and even *Helen*, considering the guilty and unfortunate step she had taken, appear to great advantage. In the *Odyssey*, we have *Penelope* a pattern of prudence and chastity, and *Arete* with her daughter *Nausicaa*. Of *Arete*, in particular, we have a high character from the mouth of *Minerva*:—"No woman was ever more honoured by a husband, or her children, or the people in general, who looked up to her as a divinity, and paid her homage, as she passed through the city. She had an excellent understanding, and she employed it in preserving harmony among the men."† This is the same, whom we have seen spinning with her maidens at day-break; ordering the affairs of her house, and receiving *Ulysses*

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\* Od. xv. 321—331. † Od. viii. 66.

with so much good sense and humanity :\* yet she was the queen of the most magnificent prince of that age. Nestor's queen also made his bed ;† and the concubines‡ of the suitors brought the meat to table.§

Hesiod is of a censorious, discontented temper, and speaks of women with little respect or tenderness ;|| but Homer assigns them a character, which he could never have painted so beautifully, without models to copy after. Beside his episodes, and more important incidents, he takes occasion to adorn his most ferocious combats with pictures of female constancy and affection ; as when he represents Ægiale alarmed for the safety of her absent lord, starting from her sleep, and shrieking aloud, from apprehension for his safety : at others, he introduces them discharging the difficult duty of affectionate step-mothers to the illegitimate children of their husbands.¶ It is also an amiable feature in the characters of the men, that they were so sensible of their merits, and compassionate to their failings and misfortunes, particularly Priam and Hector, who exhibit such tenderness for Helen, the cause of all their calamities. The interview between Hector and Andromache is too well known to require particular notice ; but we should not omit the admiration of Helen, expressed by the aged princes sitting on the tower ; followed

\* Compare Prov. xxxi. 13—15—19—27, 28. † Od. iii. 403.

‡ *Αλογοι.* § Od. iv. 623. || Theog. 590. ¶ Il. v. 70.

by the affectionate salute of Priam, and his apology for her conduct.\*

The respect, in which the opinion of the ladies was held by princes and heroes, appears by its influence on Hector. When his wife endeavoured to prevail on him to remain in the city; and when he deliberated with himself, whether he should decline the hopeless combat with Achilles, in both instances he was influenced by the same reflection: "I respect, and dread the censure and contempt of the Trojan dames, with sweeping trains."†

We can hardly pass on from this part of our subject, without some notice of female dress. Though not so extravagant as that of the Jewish ladies,‡ it was not destitute of ornament and elegance.

In every condition and stage of society, women have been particularly attentive to dressing their hair, or adorning their heads. The Grecian and Trojan ladies wore veils§ when they went abroad. They seem to have confined their hair in a net,|| and kept the whole in order with bands and fillets,¶ hanging down over the person. Their hair seems also to have been curled,\* and interspersed with golden ornaments.† In their ears, which were pierced, they

\* Il. iii. 156. † Il. vi. 42: xxii. 105. ‡ Isaiah iii. 18.

§ Καλυπται. || Αμπυξ, κερυφαλον. ¶ Κρηδεινα.

\* Il. xiv. 170. † Πορπαι, καλυκες.

wore ear-rings\* with three drops.† They also wore neck-laces, sometimes of amber set in gold.‡ From two expressions§ it is supposed, that they used paint,|| or some other material to add to their attractions, as odoriferous oil.¶ They seem to have worn neither rings nor gloves. The person was covered by a long robe, with a girdle, sometimes fringed;\* Antinous presented Penelope with one of various colours, fastened by twelve fibulæ or broaches at the breast, with hooks or hinges. Their feet were protected by sandals or slippers.† The same word is applied to the shoes of men and women.‡

The dress of the men was extremely simple, consisting of a tunic and slippers. The tunic was next the skin, sometimes as fine or soft as the skin of a dried onion.§ They seem to have slept quite naked. Over the tunic they drew on a warmer covering,|| when necessary.¶ It was thicker and longer than the tunic, double, or lined, and covered with nap, and sometimes fastened by a fibula,\* with two pipes; and embroidered in the front. Instead of this they wore for dress and dignity a robe.† The women had a gar-

\* Ερμαλα, Φελλα. † Τριγληνα. ‡ Ελεκτροισιν εερμενον.

§ Od. xviii. 171—176—191. || Αλοιφη. ¶ Il. xiv. 171.

\* Θυσανοις. † Πεδιλα, σανδαλα. ‡ Il. xiv. 178—186.—Od. xviii. 291—300.—Hymn to Mercury, 79—83. § Od. xix. 233. || Χλανα. ¶ Il. xvi. 224.—Od. xiv. 529. \* Il. x. 133.—Od. xix. 225. † Φαρος.

ment,\* probably corresponding with this, which they wore occasionally over their common dress. It seems to have trailed on the ground. This was kept together by a girdle.† The men also wore girdles, both with the tunic and the upper coat or cloak.‡

The only covering for the head, usually worn by the men, was the pileus, a cap of leather, to keep the head and ears warm or dry. It was also worn under the helmet, as a soft and warm lining.§ They protected their hands with gloves, and their legs with gaiters or leggings, when exposed to injury from thorns.||

We cannot part with Alcinous without some notice of his splendid palace, which will naturally introduce an account of the houses of those days. As, however, the mansion of Alcinous is indebted for its magnificence to the imagination of the poet, I shall take the plan of their dwellings, in part, from humbler models.

Houses of the better kind had a court in front within a wall. In this wall there was a gate; and at the gate, benches of stone. In the court was a portico, under which they often slept; and under the portico, the entrance, or vestibule, which opened by folding doors¶ into the inhabited part of the house.\* The roofs were flat, and surrounded with

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\* Πεπλος. † Od. v. 231. ‡ Od. xiv. 72. § Od. xxiv. 230. || Od. xxiv. 227. ¶ Od. xvii. 268. \* Il. ix. 469.—Od. xiv. 5.

a parapet or cornice.\* The door posts were connected by a lintel above;† the door had a handle for shutting it.‡ From the vestibule a door opened into the saloon, which was set round with seats, fixed to the wall,§ and dressed with coverlets, wrought by the women. The walls were ornamented with works in brass and gold, amber, silver and ivory, and with their implements of war.|| In these apartments, entertainments were given to the men.¶ It does not appear, that the women partook of them, though they were often present.\* The banqueting room, in the palace of Alcinous, was lighted by figures of young men standing on pedestals holding lights,† as with us. But some deny, that lamps were in use, or that oil was applied to this purpose. In one case, the contents of the lamp or brazier are said to have been thrown on the ground to kindle a fire.‡ This agrees better with torches, which may have been fixed in stands. This apartment was flagged, and surrounded with pillars, supporting the upper story, called the egg,§ and laid out for the women's apartments. Hence, it has been thought, arose the story of Helen's being produced by an egg. They were floored with oak well polished.|| From the accident

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\* Θρῆνος.—Od. vii. 88. † Τπερθυγιον. ‡ Κορωνη.  
 § Od. vii. 96. || Od. iv. 73. ¶ Od. vii. 98. \* Od. iv. 215,  
 &c. † Od. vii. 100. ‡ Od. xviii. 306, and xix. 63. § Τπερων.  
 —Od. xxii. 428. || Od. xxi. 43.

that happened to Elpenor, we may suppose, that the stair was without the house. Being full of wine, he retired to sleep on the roof, for the benefit of the cool air; when, being suddenly awakened by a noise below, he forgot to turn his face to the stairs, fell down, and broke his neck. This was in the house of Circe; and we may conclude from it, that the stairs were no better than a ladder.\*

Beside the apartments, which have been mentioned, there were chambers for sleeping, and for store-rooms.† In these also they kept their arms. I do not find any mention of kitchens, nor of servants' apartments, except a cupboard, pantry, or safe, a small apartment with a pointed roof, without the house.‡ In the cottages of Laertes and Eumæus there is nothing remarkable; except that the former was surrounded with a shed, instead of a portico, in which the servants ate and slept.§

It is difficult to understand the form and operation of their locks and keys. They had straps and bolts, keys and handles to their doors; but they depended upon knots for the security of their trunks.|| Penelope mounted a stair or ladder,¶ took a brass key, much bent, in her hands, for their keys were much larger than ours; the handle was of ivory. She then loosened the strap of the ring or handle of the door;

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\* Od. x. 552: xi. 62. † Θαλαμοι. ‡ Θολοι.—Od. xxii. 442. § Od. xiv. 5. || Od. viii. 443. ¶ Od. xxi. 6, and 45.

put in the key, and drove back the bars, drawing or stretching it in the opposite direction. The door roared, like a bull feeding in a meadow, when struck with the key, and flew open; and she stepped on the loft, where her chests lay. This noise might lead us to suppose, that the Athenian custom of having their doors to open outward existed at that early period; opening with a noise to warn the passengers. Penelope seems to have first taken off a strap, that covered or confined the handle of the door, and perhaps the keyhole also; but how this added to the security of the lock does not appear. She then inserted a key, like a hook or pick-lock, fitted, no doubt, to the key-hole, which was horizontal, and then turned it so as to catch the bolt on the inside, which she drew back as far as the length of the keyhole, or the hook of the key would allow. The security, such as it was, depended, I presume, as ours, on the adaptation of the size and form of the key, to the size and shape of the keyhole; but there were no wards in key or lock.

Having exhibited Telemachus and Nausicaa as samples of youth, we proceed to persons of maturer years. Of these, the most valuable classes were the soothsayer and the physician, the mechanic and the bard.\* These were always acceptable guests; and the physician and the mechanic appear to have been

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\* Od. xvii, 383.

the most useful. The skill of their mechanics will appear under the next head. The art of healing may be dispatched in a few words. It appears to have been confined to surgery. Machaon and Podalirius were not called to cure or stop the plague, but only to heal wounds. This was an art of the utmost importance in those warlike times; and accordingly Homer pronounced the professor of it to be of equal value with many men of a different class.\*

From the same circumstance we might expect to find, that they had considerable knowledge of external anatomy, which was the only part of the art, with which the most enlightened of the ancients were acquainted. Accordingly, Homer has been always celebrated for the variety of wounds, and the scientific skill, with which he dispatches his combatants.

Their process was to bathe the wound in warm water, suck out the blood, and apply a dressing of bitter herbs. They, probably, used the verdigris of their brazen or bronze weapons as a styptic; which supposition will account for the story of Achilles curing Telephus with the rust of his lance; which I believe is efficacious in cleansing wounds, and consuming proud flesh, and still holds a place in the *Materia Medica*. Incantations and charms were thought to have great power, even in healing wounds.† As to diet, Machaon when wounded

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\* Il. xi. 514. † Od. xix. 457.

swallowed a drink composed of wine, cheese, and barley flour.

Beside the amusement afforded by the bard, he was no doubt a very important character in those early ages, being their only philosopher and historian; and Homer loses no opportunity of placing him in an honourable point of view. The most respectable is that of guardian to Clytemnestra, during the absence of her husband; whose honour remained inviolate, till he was driven from his post.\* In another place he celebrates Thamyris, an earlier bard, who vied with the muses;† but Demodocus, the Phœacian minstrel, is his favourite. He was beloved by the Muses, who gave him both good and evil; they deprived him of sight, but gave him sweet song. After he had sung the wars of Troy; with which Ulysses had been deeply affected, the herald was again desired to bring him his harp from the peg, and he sung the amours of Mars and Venus, as a subject adapted to the dance, by which it was accompanied; for the bards never played without singing, nor sung without the accompaniment of the harp.‡ When he was introduced, led by the herald, he was placed on a seat studded with silver, attached to a pillar, on which he hung his harp, till he had partaken of the entertainment. When he had finished, Ulysses desired to embrace him; for,

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\* Od. iii. 266. † Il. ii. 595. ‡ Od. viii. 478.

he said, bards were honoured and revered by all men; because the muse taught them, and loved the whole race.

Phemius is another of his favourites; and he takes care to tell us, that though he played and sung for the suitors, it was against his will. He uses this plea himself, when afraid of being involved with them in promiscuous slaughter, and appeals to Telemachus, stating, at the same time, how much Ulysses would reproach himself for killing a bard, who sings both for gods and men, is self-taught, and inspired with every kind of song. Ulysses afterwards called for the divine bard,\* to take his hollow harp, and lead the dance by his music and his song.† Thus Homer has taken care to immortalize the name of his mother's friend, his own preceptor; implying, perhaps, that Ulysses had committed Penelope to his care; as Agamemnon had appointed a favourite bard to be guardian to Clytemnestra.

What has been said of the different stages of human life relates chiefly to persons of rank and condition. Though we are not so well informed concerning the lower orders, their manners are mentioned occasionally. There were certain lounging places,‡ to which they generally resorted, and under which beggars often lodged. In cold weather they took refuge in smith's forges;§ for the climate is often

\* Γλαφυρην. † Od. i. 337 : xvii. 261 : xxii. 331. ‡ Δεσχαι.

§ Od. xviii. 327.—Χαλκηιον δομον.

spoken of as extremely severe; and fires seem to have been in constant use.\* Ulysses pretends that at Troy† he was surprised by a frost at night, with deep snow, so that their shields were covered with ice. They had also heavy autumnal rains in Greece, with violent storms. Hesiod warns men to provide against these by industry, and particularly to frequent the brazier's or smith's shop, and the lounging places in winter; or they may "press a swollen foot with a lean hand."‡

Old age is always spoken of as a miserable period of our existence; yet old men are every where treated with respect. In the earlier stages of society, want of accomodations renders old age unhappy; and the want of books, and other means of information, make the young dependant on the experience of the aged.

We, accordingly, find in Homer, that the old either receive voluntary homage, or enforce respect from the young. They are praised for their firmness and consistency, in opposition to the fluctuating counsels and wavering conduct of their juniors, and for their recollection of the past, and foresight of the future, contrasted with the ignorance and improvidence of the young. They had, therefore, certain

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\* Od. vi. 52. † Od. xiv. 475. ‡ Works and Days, 493.—*Δια τι καὶ οἱ κιβῶτης λινῆς, καὶ οἱ υπὸ λιμου, τοὺς ποδας οιδουσιν.*—Aristotelis Problemata, Sect. i. p. 2.

privileges, which were readily conceded, and accepted as due. But as instances of these observations are interspersed every where through Homer, it is unnecessary to dwell longer on the subject.

We are now come to the close of life. As soon as the person died, his eyes and mouth were affectionately closed by his nearest relations; and the want of this ceremony was deeply lamented by the friends of those, who died in war or abroad; as the neglect of it, in other cases, was considered as a detestable crime.\* The body was then washed and anointed.† It was afterwards rolled in a cloth, and covered with a sepulchral robe, sometimes woven for the purpose by a relation, as in the case of Penelope's web. The corpse was laid out with the feet to the porch.‡ The mourning then began, accompanied by singers,§ who sang the funeral dirge, while the women beat their bosoms, tore their hair, and threw it on the corpse. This sometimes lasted many days. The principal mourners expressed their grief by rolling in the dust. Achilles threw hot ashes on his head,|| like the mourners among the Jews.¶ Thetis put on black, to sympathize with her son on the death of Patroclus, or in anticipation of his own death. The ceremonies at the funerals of distinguished men are minutely detailed in books of an-

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\* Od. xi. 424. † Il. xviii. 345. ‡ Il. xix. 212, § Il. xxiv. 719. || Il. xviii. 24. ¶ Ezek. xxvii. 30.—Job ii. 12.

tiquities. What has here been stated only shows the uniformity that prevailed, in this respect, at all times, particularly in rude nations. Another strange custom, which has prevailed in most ages and countries, is that of funeral feasts. Even Priam and Achilles concluded the funeral rites of a son and a dear friend with this indecent practice.\* The bodies were all burned in Homer's day, and the bones collected in a vase, which was buried in the earth.† The place, where they were deposited, was marked with a mount of earth, or stones, pillars, and trees,‡ either green or withered; particularly oak or fir, as being least subject to rot.§ Cenotaphs were not unknown in Homer's days,|| nor the custom of thrice invoking the dead.¶ Over their sepulchres they placed the emblems of the arts, or professions of the deceased.\* The funerals of great men were often celebrated with games, and the slaughter of victims, but the nature of these is so well known, that I think it needless to enlarge on them.

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\* Il. xxiv. 802: xxiii. 29. † Il. xxiv. 795. ‡ Il. vi. 419: xxiii. 327. § Το μεν ον καταπυθεταις ομηρω.—Il. xxiii. 328. || Od. i. 290. ¶ Od. ix. 65. \* Od. xi. 77: xii. 13.—For the funeral rites and processions at length see Od. xxiv. 60.

## SECTION VI.

## THE ORNAMENTAL AND MECHANICAL ARTS.

OF the fine arts, music was the most valued and practised. They seem to have had but two instruments. Their stringed instrument is indiscriminately called by three names.\* *Lyre*† occurs but once, and in a minor poem.‡ Their wind instruments has two names.§ I shall first give an account of the invention and structure of the lyre or harp by Mercury.|| Having found a land tortoise, and scraped the shell clear of the meat, he cut reeds in lengths; and from the back part passed them through the shell of the tortoise, (round the edge, as I suppose.) He then stretched a piece of leather (by means, I suppose of these pegs,) over the belly of the tortoise. He next added the handles or horns;¶ and fitted the

\* Φοινιγξ, κιθάρα, λυρα. † Λυρα. ‡ Hymn to Mercury, 422.

§ Αυλος, συριγξ. || Ode to Mercury, 40. ¶ Πηχεις.

cross bar\* to the handles. Lastly, he stretched seven concordant, or musical strings† of sheeps' guts.‡ As he makes no mention of pegs in the bar, I presume, the strings were attached at one end to the bar itself, at the other perhaps to those pegs, which stretched the leathern cover over the belly of the tortoise, by turning which, perhaps, it was tuned. This instrument he struck with a plectrum, which must have been a powerful implement, if Hercules slew his master Linus with it. Homer says,§ that Ulysses strung his bow with as much ease as a harper or bard stretches a string on a new pin, fitting the well twisted gut of the sheep with both hands. Sometimes, perhaps, linen threads were employed:|| but the phrase in the original is ambiguous, and the substance ill calculated for the purpose.

This instrument, which is never said to be strung with wire, was always accompanied by the voice, sometimes the singing was responsive.¶ When they danced to it, they held each other by the wrist,\* sometimes turning round in a circle as quick as a potter's wheel; and again, dancing in opposite rows or ranks.† The females sometimes wore coronets‡

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\* *Zugor*. † *Συμφωνος*, *οιων χορδας*. ‡ *Od. xxi. 408.—Εὐλερον οιος*. § *Od. xxi. 407.* || *Il. xviii. 570.* ¶ *Il. i. 604.—Hymn to Apollo, 189.* \* *Hymn to Apollo, 196.—Il. xviii. 594.* † *Il. xviii. 600.* ‡ *Στεφανας*.

in the dance; and the men, short swords of gold, suspended from silver belts. Their “many twinkling” feet excited the wonder of Ulysses.\*

The bard or minstrel was placed on a seat of honour, near a pillar,† where he tuned his lyre, played a prelude,‡ and accompanied the instrument with his voice, singing the actions of heroes, sometimes responsive to other singers; but we never hear of more than one instrument accompanying the voice.

The flute seems to have been held in less estimation, probably because it could not be accompanied by the voice of the performer. It was better adapted to processions, and other public exhibitions, and accompanied the lyre in the dance. We have no description of its form or structure.

As to statuary we only know, that such an art existed, by being told, that lights in the palace of Alcinous were held by images of young men, placed on pedestals,§ that there were figures of dogs at his gate, that Vulcan had made automatons, and that there was an image of Minerva in the citadel of Troy. The shield of Achilles, and some works in embroidery, or weaving in figures, leave no doubt, that Homer had considerable knowledge of the arts

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\* Od. viii. 265.—*Μαρμαρυγας ποδων.* † Od. xxiii. 90.—  
1 Sam. i. ix.—2 Kings xi. 14: xxiii. 3. ‡ *Αυτολλαγη.* § *Βωμων.*

of design and composition, and even of colouring. The figures embroidered on the thick, purple cloak of Ulysses were, a dog with open mouth, holding a dappled stag\* in his fore feet. He appeared to pant and quiver with his feet, while the dog was strangling him.† But it is denied by Pliny and later writers, that the art of painting was known in Homer's days: and it must be acknowledged, that there is no mention of pictures among the ornaments of the houses, which he describes so much at large, nor of any thing being artificially coloured with paint, except the prow of a ship, the feet of a table, and perhaps a lady's face.

Unless, however, we conceive, that Homer imagined a state of society for himself, we can make no question of their extraordinary taste and skill in fashioning ivory, gold, silver, and other metals; for this appears in all their furniture, utensils, and trinkets. Many of them have been noted already. It does not appear, that they knew the art of engraving precious stones, as we hear of no rings or seals. The extraordinary excellence, at which the Hebrews had arrived in these ingenious arts, at a much earlier period, may be seen in the description of the tabernacle, temple and sacerdotal robes and ornaments, particularly the breast-plate of the high priest.

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\* Ποικιλον ελλον. † Od. xix. 228.

From the state of society described in Homer, the elegance of the dress and furniture, the implements of war, &c., it is plain, that the useful arts had arrived at a considerable degree of excellence.

POTTERY must have been an art of very early invention and common use. Homer\* compares a company of dancers to a wheel, which a potter holds in his hands, trying if it will run: and Hesiod illustrates our common proverb, that two of a trade cannot agree, by an odd assemblage of four trades, which were, I suppose, among the most common. The potter quarrels with a potter; a carpenter with a carpenter; a beggar envies a beggar; and a bard a bard.†

SMELTING.—Hesiod‡ speaks of smelting tin and iron, the latter of which, he says, is much stronger, or more refractory, and is fused in a furnace or pot, heated by a wood fire in the mountains; on account, I suppose, of the plenty of fuel, and because in mountainous districts, iron mines were more easily found and wrought. I presume, this was the process of smelting the ore. The melting of the pure

\* Il. xviii. 600.

† Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεὶς κολεῖ, καὶ τεχλὸν τεχλῶν.

Καὶ πλωχὸς πλωχῷ χθονεῖ, καὶ αἰολὸς αἰολῶν.

Works and Days, 25.

‡ Theog. 862.—Εὐλεγτοῦ χοανοῦ, vel ευπηκτοῦ.

metals is described by Homer,\* where Vulcan throws gold, silver, iron, and brass into furnaces or melting pots, of which he had twenty, with bellows to each. There is no mention of any flux. From a passage in Hesiod it appears, that iron was unknown to the generation before the Theban war, and brass only in use.† Brass or bronze continued to be used for armour in the siege of Troy, perhaps because it was more easily procured or worked.

INLAYING of metals of various colours must have been commonly practised, when Homer described the shield of Achilles. Hesiod also,‡ in his poem on the shield of Hercules, describes it as variegated with ivory, amber, gold, and a substance,§ which some understand to have been a white enamel. The helmet of Hercules was made of pale steel.||

WEAVING is a primitive art. Hesiod directs,¶ that, on the approach of winter, they should be sparing of the warp, but liberal of the weft. The operation is described by Homer in the twenty-third book of the Iliad. (760) Weaving was always done by women; but, among the Egyptians, by men, accord-

\* Il. xviii. 470.

† Τοις δὲ ην χαλκεα μεν τευχεα. χαλκεοι δε τε οικοι.  
χαλκω δε γυαζοντο, μελας δ' ουκ εσκε πιὸντος.

Works and Days, 151.

‡ Shield, 140. § Τιτανω. || Ωχρου αδαμαντος.—Shield, 230. ¶ Works and Days, 538.

ing to Herodotus.\* In this particular, the people of Egypt differed from other nations. Another peculiarity is, that they pushed the woof up, others forced it down. The Phœacian women are said to weave sitting:† this is contrary to the practice of more recent antiquity; for the Romans wove standing, and the web was upright, as is beautifully described by Ovid;‡ but some confine the phrase in Homer to the spinners, who are also mentioned in that passage. Another circumstance, which puzzled the ancients as much as it does the moderns, is, that the webs (the word§ properly means linen webs) are said to drop with oil.|| There are two other passages, where the dresses of dancers, and stone seats, are said to shine with oil, on which the commentators have indulged themselves in conjectures. Is it probable, that the oil was used as a dressing for the yarn?¶

EMBROIDERY is often mentioned; unless weaving in figures or patterns be rather intended. This last was the employment of Helen.\* She was found by Iris weaving a double resplendent web,† representing the history of the war. The occupation of Andromache,‡ before she knew that Hector's life was in danger, is expressed in the same terms, except,

\* Euterpe, 35. † Od. vii. 106. ‡ Met. vi. 55. § Οδονη.

|| Απολειψεται.—Od. vii. 107. ¶ Il. xviii. 595.—Od. iii. 408.

\* Il. iii. 125. † Διπλην μαρμαρην. ‡ Il. xxii. 441.

that the subject of the web was flowers. She was weaving or embroidering in a retired apartment, and ordering a warm bath for her husband, who was never to return alive. The nature of this double texture is not explained, but it is often mentioned.\*

GRAFTING is mentioned by Hesiod in his georgical poem, where he says, that the thirteenth of the month is the best day for it.† But the reading, and the meaning of this term, is questionable.

FISHING is another art that is frequently mentioned; but always, I believe, as the employment of the poorest and most miserable of men. It was only in extreme necessity, that Menelaus and Ulysses applied to fishing. Hesiod describes the figure of a fisherman, sitting on the shore with a net in his hand, in the act of throwing it:‡ and Homer§ describes, fishermen as drawing fish with a net from the open sea into a bay, and throwing them out on the shore. In another place|| he speaks of fishing as a source of plenty. From a simile in the Iliad,¶ we are led to suppose, that it was usual to dive for oysters; the diver leaping out of a ship, even in stormy weather. From another passage\* it would appear, that above the hook, there was on the line a piece of horn, and above that, a weight of lead to

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\* See Judges v. 30. † Φύλα ὁ̄ εὐθεψασθαι αριστη, 781.

‡ Shield, 215. § Od. xxii. 385. || Od. xix. 113. ¶ Il. xvi. 746. \* Il. xxiv. 80.

sink the line. The Scholiast supposes, that the use of the horn was to protect the line from the fish. But the passage is obscure. Some, instead of the horn of an ox, understand the line made of the hair of an ox. The same circumstance and expression occur in the *Odyssey*,\* where a particular description, though in a simile, is given of a fisherman. He is represented, sitting on a projecting rock, with a very long rod, and bait to deceive small fish. He throws forward the horn of an ox into the sea, and flings the fish panting on the shore. As Homer never mentions hooks, except in two passages,† in one of which Ulysses represents his companions as fishing along the shore, to satisfy their hunger, and never says what they were made of, I should suspect, that this horn was the hook, if it were possible for hooks to be made of horn; as I have been informed, that they have been, among rude people, and also of bone. In 1822, in Sheppy Island, there were found in an ancient hut, that had been long covered with earth, various implements of flint, and a few fishing hooks of hard, stony horn, but no iron. There is no species of fish ever mentioned, except the dolphin and the seal. Hesiod describes the dolphins as pursuing the mute fish, and rising above the water puffing for air.‡ There are two

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\* Od. xii. 250. † Od. iv. 369: xii. 332. ‡ Shield, 210.

passages\* in which Homer is understood to describe hawking, and catching birds by nets. The reader may consult Clarke's and Pope's notes.

WRITING is an art, the antiquity of which is disputed, so far as Homer is concerned, but, I apprehend, with little reason; for if we deny the use of alphabetical writing, we must, I think, pervert the natural meaning of some passages, and reject the authority of others. When Prætus sent Bellerophon to Jobates† he gave him dismal‡ signs or tokens. This expression is, no doubt, ambiguous; but in the next line it is explained: "Writing many fatal, or deadly things in a folded tablet."§ These could hardly be expressed without words. When Bellerophon had been ten days at the Lycian court, the king desired to see the token|| that he brought from Prætus; and Bellerophon gave him the¶ fatal token, which he immediately understood. The heroes who cast lots for the honour of fighting with Hector,\* marked each his own token. When the successful lot was drawn, it was shown to the candidates, and each denied it to be his, till it was brought to Ajax, who had inscribed it,† and he recognised his own token.‡ It is probable, that, in this case, they used a private mark; and very possi-

\* Od. xxii. 302—468. † Il. vi. 168. ‡ Σημαῖα λυγρα.

§ Εν πινακι πλυκίω. || Σημα. ¶ Σημα πακον. \* Κληρον εσημηναῖο.—Il. vii. 175. † Επιγεαψα. ‡ Σημα.

ble, that, as the Scholiast observes, these heroes were ignorant of letters: but it by no means follows, that alphabetical writing was not in use. There was a time, when soldiers, and even bishops, could not write their names. And though this degree of learning may have been rare in the Trojan war, it does not follow, that it was uncommon in the times of Homer. He is still more explicit in *Batrachomuomachia*, (3) where he invokes the whole choir of the muses to come into his heart, to assist him in a song, which he lately inscribed in tablets on his knees.

CHARIOTS for war and travelling were in such general use, that the art of making them must have been brought to great perfection; and Homer, after his manner, is very particular in describing the parts of a chariot.\* When Juno and Minerva determined to steal a march upon Jupiter, Juno harnessed the horses, and Hebe hung the wheels. These had eight spokes and an iron axle: the reins or felloes were of gold, and the shoeing of brass. The naves were round, made of silver. A seat to hold two† was hung by gold and silver straps; and it was furnished with two arms.‡ These are generally described as round or bent, and the reins are often said to be hung on them, when not in use. They were commonly made of wood, as appears by Lycaon's cutting branches for that purpose.§ At the end of the pole was the

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\* Il. v. 720. † Διρρησ. ‡ Ανθυγες. § Il. xxi. 38.

yoke, to which were fixed the collars, or straps\* by which the horses were connected with the pole. I believe there is no mention of traces, saddles, back or belly bands. The carriage of Nausicaa was a cart drawn by two mules, furnished with a chest.† The cart‡ of Priam also was drawn by mules, and had four wheels; his chariot, by two horses.§ Nausicaa's|| was large enough to contain all her female attendants, with the linen of a numerous family. The chariot, that Telemachus borrowed from Nestor, was also furnished with a chaise-box,¶ separate from the chariot, and fixed on occasionally. Chariots are often said to be variegated with brass. The metals mentioned in the description of Juno's, are only poetical ornaments. Some were diversified with gold, silver, and tin. When laid up, the wheels were taken off, and the chariots leaned against the wall of the coach-house, opposite to the door, protected by coverlets.\* Hesiod uses an expression,† implying, that the bodies were enclosed with basket work, or straps of leather on the sides and backs. They were drawn commonly by two horses, sometimes three. Hector had four horses abreast.‡ There was sometimes a spare or a led horse in a line

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\* *Λεπαδνα.* † *Od. vi. 70—72.* ‡ *Απηνη.* § *Il. xxiv. 325 and 277.* || *Αμαξα.* ¶ *Περνθα.* \* *Il. v. 194: viii. 435.* † *Πλεκλα & ευτλεκλα.*—*Shield, 63—307.* ‡ *Il. viii. 185.—Od. xiii. 81.*

with the others; but, I suppose, not bound to the draught.\* They were all driven by whips: though sometimes said to be goaded or spurred, the remains of the language of former times.† The reins were ornamented with gold and ivory, as also the head-stalls, which were sometimes adorned by the ladies for their favourites.‡ They had forehead pieces, to confine the foretops,§ and a band to keep the manes in order.|| The axletrees were sometimes of metal, as iron or brass; sometimes of wood, as Diomede's, which was of beech.¶ In Solomon's days, chariots were imported from Egypt for seventy pounds, and horses for seventeen pound, ten shillings.\*

There is no mention of fighting on horseback; though Homer describes a horserider, who manages four horses on the high road, leaping from one to another, at full gallop: but this occurs in a simile.† Hesiod also introduces horse racing among the sports, represented on the shield of Hercules. (286)

The TRIPOD is an article of furniture very frequently mentioned; and as it is still in use, I shall be somewhat particular in describing it. It signifies a stand with three feet, and was applied to various purposes. Some were only pots to be placed over the fire; and others were vases. They sometimes

\* Παρηγορος. † Κεντρονεκτης, Κεντρος ιππων. ‡ Il. iv. 141.

§ Αμπυξ. || Ζευγλη. ¶ Il. v. 723: xiii. 30: v. 838.

\* 2 Chron. i. 17. † Il. xv. 679.

served for seats; sometimes were ornamental pieces of furniture; and were often bestowed as prizes on victors at the games. When Thetis applied to Vulcan to forge a suit of armour for her son, she found him finishing a set of twenty tripods. They were supported by golden wheels, and inspired with locomotive powers, so that they could enter the assembly of the gods spontaneously; and again retire, when no longer required. They were nearly finished, for he had prepared the ears or handles, was forging the chains, and had only to attach them to the tripod.\*

Among the domestic articles, occasionally mentioned, the cradle occurs twice in the hymn to Mercury, (21—63) though neither in the Iliad nor Odyssey; and from the battle of the frogs and mice, we learn the antiquity even of mouse traps.† So minute are the particulars to be learned from these ancient poets.

These various arts and manufactures required a variety of tools. Neither has Homer neglected to inform us of them, either directly or by similes, and sometimes of the mode of making and using them. Thus in describing Ulysses' ship, he had occasion to mention the axe, the adze, and the augre or gimblet: on another occasion, he informs us,‡ that the brazier,§ after he has made an axe or adze, dips it

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\* Il. xviii. 375. † Εὐλ. ινον δολον—παγιδα. —50—215. ‡ Od ix. 391. § Χαλκευς.

hissing in cold water to temper it. It is observable, that he calls the smith a brazier, or worker in brass, though the implements were of iron; for he adds—“This is the strength of iron:” or this process confirms or completes the strength of iron. In the same place, (384) he describes a ship carpenter boring a piece of ship timber. While he holds the augre, others below turn it with a strap, that goes round it; and makes it turn without intermission.\* When he gives an account of the shield of Achilles,† he informs us of the tools, which Vulcan used in fabricating it: viz., the anvil, and the block for supporting it, and a mallet or sledge,‡ and pincers,§ which he kept in a chest. The goldsmith, who gilded the horns of Nestor’s victim, made use of a portable anvil, a mallet or hammer, and forceps.

These are the mechanical instruments mentioned in Homer and Hesiod, many of which I have already had occasion to enumerate, particularly in the section on agriculture; but no mention of the saw ever occurs.

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\* Εμπειρες εσει. † Il. xviii. 475. ‡ Παιστρα. § Πυργην.

CONCLUSION.

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THUS have I attempted to give a sketch of the state of society in the times of Homer. I have drawn my materials from the poet himself, with some assistance from his contemporaries, Hesiod, and the Sacred Writers; without involving myself with critics and historians, or presuming to fill this dissertation with my own speculations, in preference to theirs.

The subject resolves itself into learning, government, arts, and manners. As far as learning depends on a thirst for knowledge, it can make little progress in a rude and warlike age; as far as it is promoted by mutual communication and emulation, it must languish, when there are no teachers, learners nor competitors, neither books nor readers. In such circumstances it can be expected to advance only as fast and as far as it is subservient to the urgent wants of men.

Astronomy was, therefore, cultivated till it ascertained the seasons for tillage and navigation, and enabled the navigator to steer his course from island to island, or coast along the shores of the Mediterranean sea. Geography was content with the infor-

mation gained at different sea-ports, without exploring the interior of the surrounding continents, or aiming at the character of a science. As agriculture was an art of prime necessity, it was practised with more application and success; but it soon supplied the necessities of the cultivator in a genial climate, and a fertile soil. The mechanical arts will not always keep pace with our wants, and will never go beyond them.

The fine or ornamental arts have an early origin, but a slow growth. The rudest barbarians have a passion for adorning their persons; and soon wish for amusements to beguile their indolent or solitary hours. Music and dancing gratify these desires for a long time without much art or refinement. Sculpture and painting have a later origin; and which is the elder sister is still a subject of dispute. The elegancies of life will not be sought for, till every natural want is abundantly supplied. The arrival of this period was accelerated among the Greeks by their passion for military and piratical expeditions, which brought them acquainted with foreign luxuries, and supplied them with the precious metals, and other materials for furnishing and ornamenting their persons and houses. Accordingly, we find, that while the manners of their heroes continued rude and ferocious, their dwellings were elegantly furnished, and their wives had attained a considerable degree of refinement.

The form of their government was free, and as far as we know, the exercise of it, mild. The kings were limited, the nobles powerful, and both controlled by the assembly of the people. Slavery prevailed to a great extent; it being not only an accidental consequence, but a main object of their war-like and marauding expeditions, to carry off slaves as an article of trade, either for ransom or sale. But we hear of no unnecessary severity to these unhappy people. We know, that many of them were advanced to eligible situations, and possibly contributed to civilize their masters. Whether their posterity continued in servitude we are not informed; and we have no intimations, that any of the people were slaves by birth. In the art of war they were very inferior to their posterity, and to the Romans; but nearly equal to our ancestors before the invention of fire arms; except, perhaps, in besieging towns, of which art they seem to have been ignorant.

Theology is the most defective part of their system. Their gods were no better than themselves: air and earth were peopled with malignant spirits, and nothing can exceed the absurdity of their infernal regions. Their practice was better than their theory. The sentiments of genuine piety and morality, which we meet with in Homer and Hesiod, may fairly be ascribed to themselves, or at most, to the higher orders of the people; for it is impossible, that they should be familiar to the multitude. From the

poems of Homer especially, might be easily selected, with the assistance of Duport's *Gnomologia*, a system of morals, at least a series of religious, moral, and prudential maxims, that would justify Horace in preferring him to Chrysippus and Crantor.

As to morals, I apprehend, that we have no reason to plume ourselves on our superiority. Gaming is a vice of general prevalence among the unoccupied classes in every stage of society; but the only persons chargeable with it in the period of which we are treating, are the idle and dissolute suitors of Penelope. Minerva found them before the door of the palace, playing with dice, at some game, which critics, ancient and modern, pretend to describe, reclining on the hides of oxen, which they had slaughtered and consumed, and attended by heralds and their own servants, who supplied them with meat and wine.\* On a similar occasion, Patroclus, when a youth, killed his adversary in a passion; and these are, I believe, the only instances of gambling that occur. In one of them the parties were boys; in the other, the profligate suitors of Penelope.

We are so much struck with the inconsistency between different parts of their social intercourse, that we feel inclined to attribute much of their refinement to the taste and genius of the poet; but as this incongruity appears chiefly among the men, we

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\* Od. i. 107.

should rather ascribe it to their martial character, and wandering habits. When, notwithstanding this, we discover occasionally so much courtesy and urbanity, even in them, we may account for it by their hospitality, which supplied the want of many good qualities. It bound the host and his guest, and their posterity, in mutual bonds of inviolable friendship, even though they met as enemies in the field of battle; and procured them the kindest reception and most liberal entertainment in their civil intercourse. Nestor, Menelaus, and Alcinous received their guests with a noble and gracious courtesy; and on more familiar and interesting occasions, they wept, and kissed each other's head, and shoulders, and hands and eyes.\*

Those, who are surprised at the rudeness of some of their customs, compared with the elegance of others, should reflect, that the primeval simplicity of ancient habits might continue, without affecting more modern fashions; that military men might retain the practice of cutting up, and cooking their own food, though not in camp; and that some of those actions were connected with the ceremonies of religion. Even in modern times, many usages obtain in one civilized country, that appear indelicate and revolting to the inhabitants of another: and our travellers are often incommoded and shocked at the want of

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\* Od. xvi. 15: xvii. 35: xxi. 224: xxiv. 397.

customary accommodations even in France and Italy. This difference is still more striking when we extend our views or our travels to remoter quarters of the world. If we consider, that this disgust is mutual, we may learn to make allowance not only for our contemporaries, but for the uncivilized people of the heroic times, when our country was only a harbour for wild beasts.

THE END.

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